
THE
Political Testament
OF
M. *Jean Baptist Colbert,*
Minister and Secretary of State.

August 1931

100

Ministry of Agriculture

THE
Political Testament

OF

M. Jean Baptist Colbert,

Minister and Secretary of State.

Wherein is contain'd

All that hath pass'd under the Reign of
L E W I S the XIV. unto the
Year 1684.

With Remarks upon the Government
of the Kingdom of *France*.

Translated out of French.

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TO THE
Right Honourable
SIDNEY Lord *Godolphin*,
Baron of *Rialton*,

One of the Lords Justices for the
Administraction of Affairs in the
absence of the King, first Com-
missioner of the Treasury, and
one of his Majesty's most Ho-
nourable Privy Council.

My Lord,

ALL who have the happiness
to be acquainted with Your
Lordship, know how little You
love, or want a Dedication; and I
should not have presum'd to fix Your
A Name

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Name to this, were there not a kind of necessity for it; but when I reflect on the Character of my Author, so like, and in so many circumstances agreeing with Your Lordships, where can I draw so exact a Parallel, where could I make choice of so fit a Patron?

For whether I consider the late Famous Monsieur Colbert, either in his publick or private Capacity, in justice to his Memory, I must compare him to Your Lordship, being otherwaies unable to describe him as he deserves; and in this, I am sure, I have outdone the Original, tho' I fall much short of it in the Translation.

The Reader may observe, he was Comptroller general of the Finances in France, the most like to a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury in England; a Station, Your Lordship hath long maintain'd with so great Honour, Justice, Integrity, and Prudence, that You never deservedly
made

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made an Enemy, nor undeservedly preferred a Friend; I may well say long, considering the different prevailing Parties in our Nation; but You have still preserv'd Your Interest, by the same Merit You acquir'd it; what ever Changes have happen'd, You have never deviated from Your own just Principles, and none hath better demonstrated that Infallible Maxim, an Honest Man is the best Politician.

But tho' Honesty is the best, and ought to be the chief Ingredient in a Statesman, there are other extraordinary Qualifications, Stars of a lesser Magnitude, which shine bright in Your Lordship, a sound and steady Judgment, a clear and ready Wit, a quick Apprehension, a perfect Knowledge of Languages, Foreign Courts and Customs, an absolute Command of the Passions, an easie and affable Behaviour, and a true Application to Business, without its tedious forms

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forms and incumbrances. 'Tis these Exemplary Vertues that justly recommend Your Lordship to all Good Men, and all Good Men to Your Lordship.

It is very difficult to quit so fruitful a Subject; but I am to remember to whom I am speaking; and tho' I cannot say enough to my Reader, I must not say too much to Your Lordship. I will therefore trouble You no longer, hoping the Honesty and Usefulness of the Subject, will atone for the Imperfections of the Translation, and the importunity of,

MY LORD,

Your Lordships

Most Faithful and Obedient Servant,

William Granvill.

THE
EPISTLE
TO THE
KING.

SIR,

GOD hath so visibly appear'd in Protecting your Majesty's Reign, that I am verily persuaded your Majesty doth in no-wise attribute to your Own good Conduct, those happy Events which have made your Kingdom so Glorious, and humbled its Enemies. GOD answer'd the Prayers of all your good Subjects, and gave You to them in a time, when there was little hope of their being heard; since it was not till after Twenty three Years Barrenness, he began, by the Miracle of your Birth, to declare, He had chosen you from all Eternity, to be one of the most perfect Works that have been, for a long time, upon Earth. So certain a Truth,

A

and

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and so generally acknowledg'd by all your Subjects, ought also to be known to Strangers, that they may be convinc'd, the Mighty Hand of GOD acteth for you against your Enemies. But seeing there is in almost all other Courts but a meer outward appearance of Piety, while it shines so bright in yours, they attribute all your Majesty's Prosperity only to your good Fortune, without lifting up their Eyes to Him who is the Lord of Hosts, and without whose Aid, 'tis impossible for any one to expect Victory. It were to be wish'd your Enemies had been sooner undeceiv'd, and in good time convinc'd, That it is GOD alone who protects you; then there had not been so much Blood spilt in the War, which you have so gloriously ended, and the Lives of an infinite Number of Men might yet be spar'd, who seem destin'd to perish in the same Quarrel. For your Majesty, by having given a Peace to Europe, hath not quite extinguish'd the Jealousie of many Potentates, wherewith they feel themselves disquieted. When they see what great Things are done by you, they do but watch for an Opportunity to be reveng'd; and rather than they will yield to those Submissions which one of your Ministers requires from them, 'tis very likely they will hazard All, to keep All.

But,

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But, S I R, may I be so bold to ask, Whether all that this Minister doth, be any Service to your Majesty? I fear you may think the little good Correspondence, which hath hitherto been between us, puts me upon this Quest on. The deep Wounds, which your Majesty knows better than I, he hath endeavour'd to give me, by his frequent Addresses to your Majesty, to make you suspect my Fidelity, may incline you to believe, That my Resentments are still great enough to prompt me to do by him, as he hath dealt with me. But GOD forbid that I should be more concern'd for my own Interest, than for your Majesty's; having no other aim, but to represent faithfully to your Majesty how things are. A Great KING, who hath in his Hands the Government of a large Kingdom, doth not always know what his Ministers do; especially when he gives them the same Authority, which you do to the Marquess of Louvoy. Publick Ministers Faults are usually imputed to their Master; and if War happen to ensue, How many People suffer for the Guilt of one particular Person? It seems to me, that Monsieur Louvoy was the cause that the War lasted so long. 'Tis true, the end of it hath prov'd glorious to your Majesty; but it cannot be said you owe it to his good Conduct:

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'Tis evident, that by him the Safety of your Realm was brought into danger, out of which, nothing but the Hand of G. O. D. deliver'd you. He is then answerable to all your People for the Blood he hath cost 'em. Besides, had your Majesty been less respected and admired, he might have perhaps made you lose the Love of your Subjects; for you who are their Father, ought to be as sparing of their Blood, as of your own. Is it not likewise very strange, that a Minister, who never saw War but in Paint, should pretend to know more of it than all your Commanders, when your Majesty can justly boast of the best in all Europe? For where-ever the Prince of Condé and Viscount Turenne are nam'd, there is no body but knows that your Majesty's Reign (destin'd to have in it all that is great upon Earth) hath two of the greatest Generals Europe hath seen these many Years.

Divine Providence, of whose Effects your Majesty is hourly sensible, hath led you out of those dangerous Ways, wherein another would have been lost: Your Piety, which appears in all your Actions, returns daily Thanks to G O D for it, who is delighted with your Gratitude. But since every one doth not think, that all which here below comes to pass; is from
G O D

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GOD, the Faults of your Minister augment the Number of your Enemies; they believe when he exposes your naked Breast, who should take most care to defend it, they shall at last pierce your very Heart. Hence it is, that so many Princes in Europe endeavour to do you all the Mischief they can; and would certainly mortally wound you, were it not impossible to do Him any harm, whom GOD hath so visibly taken into his Protection.

We can also say, without flattering your Majesty, That never was any Prince more worthy of that Protection. You have all the Qualities of a Great King, and of a King truly Christian: If you had any Failings in your Youth, you are, Thanks be to GOD, so well come to your Self, that you only remember 'em to do the greater Penance for 'em. He that will please your Majesty, must live in your Court as if he were in a Cloyster, out of which all Vice must be banish'd. If Envy reign there, yet no body is suffer'd to shew it: Your Majesty is an Example of Vertue to all your Courtiers: And though the Corruption of the Age be so great, that they cannot imitate their Master; yet if they would please him, they must seem to do it.

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This return of your Majesty to GOD, is the Reward of your never having forgot Him, in what State and Condition soever you were. If through Human Frailty you have done like a David, or many of those Sinners who are now in Paradise; yet you never pretended upon that account, to excuse your self from rendering to GOD that which was due to Him. You endeavour'd to obtain his Pardon, by Worshipping him as he ought to be, and by a perfect resignation of your self to him; because you know 'tis the way to incline him to Mercy. No Man can say you have been one Day of all your Life without hearing Mass: And though the deceased King your Father was very pious, he never could, as you do, refrain, during the Celebration of that adorable Mystery, from talking with those about him, nor from many indecent Postures in which he then used to be.

The Fear of GOD, which you have always had before your Eyes, made you sometimes resolve, to let People, for a while, believe things of you, which were only suspected, rather than clear your self in their Thoughts, by frequenting the Sacraments. You forbore coming to them, so long as you thought

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thought your self not worthy of them; or believed your Weakness too great, to perform the Promises you made to G O D. This was a sign of the Tenderness of your Conscience, wherein you are so far from being like other Princes, who affect external Mortifications at that very time they are privately plunging themselves into all sorts of Pleasures.

What shall I now say of all your Majesty's good Qualities, which make you pass in the Opinion of those that perfectly know you, for the honestest Man in all your Kingdom? A Truth equally in the mouths of all your Subjects; and assures me, I cannot be guilty of Flattering you, though your Majesty were less known. It is then neither Flattery, nor is it the Gratitude I owe you, for all those Honours and Favours I have receiv'd from your Majesty, which make me say, There hath not, for a long time, been so Great a King upon Earth: I say it, because I verily believe it is true; and nothing shall ever make me change my Opinion.

For without mentioning the many Strong Places you have taken, and the many Victories you have obtain'd, where is the Prince, who after having been so ill Educated, hath better natural Inclinations? I dare not say

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all that I think in this particular, because I may be accused of Ingratitude to Cardinal Mazarin, my Benefactor. 'Tis better for me to be silent, and only speak of that which all the World cannot behold without Admiration: Yes, S I R, I will maintain, not excepting the Cæsars, or the Alexanders, more wonderful Things have been done in your Reign, than in any of those Great Men's, whom Antiquity doth so much boast. Never did any King go so early into the Wars, as you did; if it be said you did not properly go, but were carry'd, because the Condition of your Affairs requir'd you should be seen by your Soldiers on the Frontiers: In answer to this, I only ask, Whether it was not of your own accord, and not by the Counsel of Cardinal Mazarin, that you continu'd whole Days on Horsback; which was the cause of that great Sickness, whereof 'twas thought you would have dy'd at Calais? 'Tis well known, that Minister daily told you, you would certainly endanger your Health, by being so much fatigu'd. 'Tis also certain, he would have hinder'd you from going to the Fort of Mardyke, where the Air was so much infected, and so many were sick, that he might well be in great fear for your Majesty's sacred Person: But the Inclination you then had for all that is Great and Glorious, made you neglect his Counsel;
so

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so that he had reason to think, that would happen which he so much fear'd.

You being then but Twenty Years of Age, some perhaps will say, that in what your Majesty then did, there was nothing extraordinary; and that many others have done as much. But 'tis fit it should be known, that more than Ten Years before, you had been in the Field, and seen several Sieges, from which for the safety of your Person, you were drawn against your will; because you were never better pleas'd than when you were with your Soldiers, to inform your self of a hundred things, which were then above your Age. What pity is it, that a Prince born with so great Qualities, had not that Education which your Majesty hath given Mon Seigneur the Dauphin? What Miracles had we not then seen in your Reign? Seeing 'tis a wonder if a Prince, who hath not had the help of good Education, doth not heap fault upon fault.

I could make very good Reflections, upon your Majesty's having so perfectly well acquitted your self, notwithstanding you never had any knowledge of that which contributes to the compleat Education of a Prince. This also gives me a good occasion, to speak of all that your Majesty hath done, in bringing Lear-

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Learned and Skilful Men (at your own great Charge) from Foreign Countries, and by Establishing Manufactures in your own Kingdom: So that the French have now at home, that which they were obliged with great Expence of their Money, to seek for abroad; and what is yet more, this hath your Majesty done of your self, without receiving the least light or advice from others.

You were Educated very tenderly amongst Women; I cannot forbear saying so, because it would rob your Majesty of that Glory which is your due; when it is known, that notwithstanding so ill an Education, you are become that which we now see you are. I have yet a great deal more to say of those many things your Majesty hath done, which appear so great and surprising; considering what I have just now said of your Education: But I pass that by, to keep my self to the Subject I have here proposed. I must tell you with all the Respect I owe your Majesty, that the only thing wherein you can be blamed, is, that you are too good to, and put too much confidence in those on whom you rely in some of your Affairs. It is not to show my own Parts, that I pretend to find fault with other Mens Actions: Perhaps I am more subject to Faults than they; but the Zeal I have for your Majesty's Service, will not suffer me to be longer silent.

Be

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Be pleas'd therefore to let me give you the History in short, of all that hath past in your Majesty's Reign, and shew you wherein I think you have been ill serv'd: Be also pleas'd to let me tell you, by what means I Imagine you may yet make your Kingdom more Glorious. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon this Liberty, and to believe I would never have presum'd to have said any thing on this Subject, were it not that I cannot better testifie my Zeal to serve your Majesty. That which more particularly obliges me to tell you my Thoughts, is, That I find my self daily declining; and that according to all appearance, I have but a very little longer time to spend in Service. ~~Girls and~~ Night-watchings shorten Men's Days; and I have to:l'd enough, since your Majesty was pleas'd to trust me with the Management of your Revenue, to think 'tis now time to leave my Place to another. How happy should I be, if in dying, I could persuade your Majesty to believe, That I am, what all Days of my Life I have been, with most profound Respect,

SIR,

Your Majesty's most Humble,

Most Obedient Servant, and

Most Faithful Subject,

J. B. Colbert.

A

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THE
TESTAMENT
OF
M. John Baptist Colbert,
CONCERNING
GOVERNMENT.

CHAP. I.

*Containing a brief Account of the Reign of
Lewis the Great, from his coming to
the Crown, 'till the Year 1649. in which
the War of Paris began.*

D ID not your Majesty know so much
better than I do, that what is most
necessary to make a Kingdom flourish,
is a perfect Harmony and Agreement
between all its Members; I would presume to
B shew

shew here what Care a Prince ought to take, that there be no Discord or Division among 'em : But since this depends upon a right Establishment of Subordination , your Majesty is better able than any Man, to order that as it ought to be, who so well understand to act the Part of a King, that 'tis enough to distinguish by your Air and Mien, that you was born to Command.

We see then what it is that gives Beginning to a Kingdom's Prosperity, and what it is continues it : For if he that is the Sovereign doth not know, or is not able to do, what he ought, he must then have a Minister under him. And because the same Respect which People have for his Master, is not usually paid to him ; thence arise those Canvasings and Contests, that frequently turn to Rebellions, and sometimes cause the total Ruin of a Kingdom. The Reign of the King your deceased Father, was full of such Accidents: The Royal Family was so divided, that the Mother was against the Son, and the Son against the Mother ; the Brother likewise sought to destroy his Brother and his King. The other Princes of the Blood stood not much better affected. All which proceeded from his Majesty's giving so much Power to his Prime Minister, that the Princes thought it was he that did all, as they had great reason to believe ; otherwise the Queen-Mother had not been so abandon'd, as to die at *Cologne* in such distress, that she had not the one half of what she wanted, to relieve her Necessities.

Your Majesty's Minority was expos'd to the same Inconveniencies, because you were not then able to direct your Affairs: The Queen your Mother, when the King died, found them embroil'd, and in so great confusion, that it was not possible for a Woman to reduce 'em into order. Your Father, when he died, left no Prime Minister; Cardinal *Richelieu*, who with a great deal of Reputation discharg'd the Duties of that Place, had left it vacant four or five Years: A thousand People expected to succeed him in it; and tho' all *France* did agree, That among so many, there was hardly one to be found worthy of the Ministry: Yet so great a number of Competitors striving to obtain it, occasion'd by your Father's limiting the Queen his Widow's Power, who should have been Regent; made the *Spaniards* think our Disorders might turn to their Advantage; they then besieg'd *Rocroy*, which they believ'd they should quickly carry, and enter into the heart of the Kingdom. But God confounded their Pride, by the loss of a Battel given them by *Louis de Bourbon Prince of Condé*, (then call'd Duke of *Anguien*;) wherein they were so totally defeated, that they have never since been able to recover their loss. But without robbing that Prince of any part of his Glory, we may say, That this success was owing to none but God; for had he not taken your Majesty into his Protection, the Enemy might have advanced to the head of a narrow Way, through which the General must have past in their presence. They might also have fallen upon him, when by the inconve-

nience of the Ways he was oblig'd to divide his Army. But beside all these Difficulties, there was an apparent danger in giving Battel; for had it been lost, the Enemy might have march'd to the very Gates of *Paris*. But 'tis sometimes God's Will, that neither Party shall think of doing that which they should do; and then he leads those step by step, whom he hath resolv'd to protect.

The happy success of this Battel of *Rocroy*, was follow'd with a Joy that was the more sincere, because your Subjects had a tender Love for your Majesty, and the Queen your Mother. The Persecution she had suffer'd, as well as *Mary de Medicis*, during Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Ministry, procur'd your Mother a great deal of pity; and as Pity is usually accompany'd with Esteem, the more unhappy she had been, the more People resolv'd to follow her Fortune. However, it ought to be observ'd, it was otherwise with *Mary de Medicis*; for all People saw her departure out of the Kingdom with dry eyes; nobody was concern'd, but her own particular Servants and Domesticks. Upon which may be made this very good Reflection, That Princes soon lose the Love of their best Subjects by their ill Government. She had shewn too much Favour to *Mareschal d'Ancre*, and his Wife, both of her own Country, to be pity'd by the People. And as in *France*, as well as in other Places, they do not love to obey Strangers, the *Grande*s murmur'd at it, and left the Court, because the Queen little regarg'd their Complaints. The King your Father also grew jealous of their Power,

Power, which caus'd the Assassination of the Marechal, and the tragical end of his Wife.

However, it was very ill digested ; and God be thanked we have not seen your Majesty's Reign stain'd with any thing like it. A King never doth well to dip his Hands in the Blood of his Subjects : When they deserve Punishment, they ought to be legally prosecuted in a Court of Justice ; which perhaps sometimes cannot be safely done, when a Subject becomes so great, that his Master hath just cause to be afraid of him. *Wallestein* was such a one ; and therefore the Emperour *Ferdinand* III. was excusable, for commanding he should be kill'd. *Henry* III. had the same reason to rid himself of the Duke of *Guise*, when he was upon the point of usurping his Kingdom, and shutting him up in a Monastery.

But, except in such cases, a Criminal is to be put into the hands of Justice ; not only for the Prince's own sake, but because it is necessary the People should know that the Person is guilty. *Henry* IV. took this course with Marechal *Biron* ; for tho' he fear'd, that if *Biron* perceiv'd his Designs were discover'd, he might raise Troubles in the Kingdom ; yet that did not hinder the King from having a greater regard to what he ought to do for his own sake, than for what might happen.

The Queen your Mother, SIR, had done well, had she taken example by that which befel *Mary de Medicis* ; she had not then brought the State, as she did, within so near being lost, by the choice she made of Cardinal *Mazarin* to succeed

Cardinal *Richelieu*. His being a Stranger, made all your Subjects forget the Obedience that was due to their Sovereign. It was to no purpose to tell them, He had already done great Services to the Crown, and was still able to do greater, because he understood foreign Affairs better than any other Person; which indeed is absolutely necessary for a Publick Minister. But they fancy'd these Reasons not so good as their own; nor could they be beaten out of their Opinion, That he being born a Subject of the King of *Spain*, was never to be trusted. And accusing the Queen-Mother of being more a *Spaniard* than a *French-Woman*, they seem'd to repent the Pity they had had for her; which appear'd in their confessing Cardinal *Richelieu* had reason to persecute her; tho' all the Sufferings she had endur'd, had no other foundation, than a pretended private Intelligence she kept with the King of *Spain* her Brother. But so People might satisfy their Passion, they car'd not at what Price they did it.

I have reason to call all that Passion, which was done a little after the Death of the King your Father; since it is certain, that your Subjects do not alway call Reason to their Aid: If they had, they would have seen that the Queen your Mother was not so much to be blam'd as they thought, seeing she had prefer'd, before others, a Man that was able to keep up the Reputation the Crown had gotten in foreign Countries, and knew what course was to be taken to meet there with success. 'Tis that which all the World doth not know, tho' it be a thing of very

very great Consequence. My Brother, whom your Majesty Honour'd with making him Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, took the liberty many times to represent it to your Majesty; but the Marquess *Louvois*, who hath Maxims very contrary to those Great Men's, who have preceeded him in the Administration of the Kingdom, destroy'd in a moment all that he strove to do. But I know not whether the Marquess will always have Reason on his side, because he makes use of the Strength only of your own Subjects; which Cardinal *Richelieu*, who knows as much as he, did not do, when he carried the War into *Germany*, made *Catalonia* and *Portugal* revolt: and led the way to the low'r-ing of the House of *Austria*.

Indeed, tho' your Kingdom be very powerful, and your Majesty hath a third part at least increas'd its Strength by your Conquests; yet 'tis contrary to good Sense to exhaust all its Forces. Your Majesty will be better able to maintain the War, by arming other Princes in your Favour: But to do that, you must treat them like Sovereigns, as they are, and not pretend, as Monsieur *Louvois* doth, because they are your Majesty's Inferiours, they ought to look upon themselves as Slaves. Your Majesty perhaps knows not what Answer he made to the Elector *Palatine's* Envoy, who complaining at the beginning of the *Holland* War, That his Master was no better treated, than those who were actually in Arms against you; the Marquess told him, That it did not become such a petty Prince as his Master, to make so great a

Noise about so small a Matter : That your Majesty was not bound to give an account to any Man of your Actions : And, That the Elector's standing so much on his Points, was the way to lose the Honour of your Friendship.

Such great Words, SIR, may imprint on Mens Minds, a magnificent *Idea* of your Power : But ought your Majesty to be contented with it ? Would it not turn more to your Advantage, that your Justice should be extoll'd, rather than proclaim the Condition you are in at present to oppress your Neighbours. That has never been the way to enlarge Empires : The *Romans*, who boasted themselves Masters of all the World, had more regard for their Allies, than your Minister hath for yours. To subject them, requires more address : 'Tis better Policy to weaken 'em by War, of which let 'em suffer the Inconveniences, but reap none of the Advantages. Conquests are not ordinarily made for them, tho' they are the Baits wherewith they are usually tempted and drawn in. They may be wean'd from their part in them, under specious Pretences : As in the last War, when your Majesty made the Neighbour-Princes restore the Places they had taken from the King of *Sweden* ; and which the Emperour did not oppose, because it was his Interest, that those Princes should not increase their Power ; and which was all the Reward he gave them, for taking his part.

I know not whether that which I have now said be a Digression ; because it hath carried me
from

from my Subject: But I could not find a fitter place for it than here; and the reflexions to be made upon it, are of as great consequence as those I have yet to make, on the choice the Queen your Mother made of Cardinal *Mazarin*. To excuse her preferring him before others, three Reasons were given. The First was, because he was acquainted with Foreign Affairs; the Second was, That not being a Native of *France*, he had no kindred or Relations to enrich; the Third was, That more People would have been displeas'd and dissatisfy'd, had he been a *French* Man. But these Reasons are so weak, that I believe they do not much sway your Majesty; as for the First, if Cardinal *Mazarin* knew Affairs abroad, he was ignorant of those at home, which were as necessary to be known as those that were Foreign; and indeed, the Inconvenience is visible, seeing that which comes nearest the Heart, is of much greater consequence, than that which lyes remote from it. Beside, the knowledge of Foreign Affairs, is not so very difficult to be acquired; the Situation and the State of Countries is the greatest part of it, and by that a Man ought to regulate himself.

The Second Reason is not better, but the contrary; for there are a hundred things to be objected against it: A Stranger hath as great a desire as any other Person, to enrich his Kindred, in what place soever they be: Beside, he can send for them, when he finds himself well settled. Three of his Nephews, and seven Neices, who came quickly into *France*, are an undeniable Testimony of this Truth; and a Minister could hardly

hardly have been taken out of any other Family, wherein there was to be found a greater number of Kindred and Relations: But a greater Inconvenience in the Choice, was, that he being a Foreigner, and not certain how long he should keep his Post, would be every Day transmitting into his own Country, that which might plentifully maintain him, in case he fell into disgrace. Beside, it was not to be supposed, that a Stranger could be so well affected to *France*, as one that sucked in the Love of his Country with his Mothers Milk; to which I will add, that seeing he was not Married, nor in a condition ever to be so, he could not look upon *France*, as a Country, wherein he himself, or his Posterity, could ever hope to be settled.

The Third Reason is much weaker than the other Two; which was, that when in so great a Kingdom as your Majesty's, People of very great Quality and Merit, see the Ministry put into the Hands of a Stranger; Who is he, that hath so ill an Opinion of himself, as to believe he doth not better deserve it, than a Man to whom no body is related? Whose Manners and good Qualities are not known; and to whom, were People never so much convinc'd of his Merit, they would not be so just as to give him his due? For my own part, I believe the Queen your Mother had some other Reasons (than those alledged), for her Choice. Perhaps it was, because other Pretenders did not make use of her Interest to obtain the Place, and consequently, foreseeing they would not thank her, *she*, for that Reason, made the Choice *she* did. But whatever

it was, her Majesty quickly saw so many new Troubles break out, that tho' she had been us'd to the like, in the Reign of the deceased King, yet she was very much surpris'd: Their beginning seem'd not so much to be fear'd, because among all the Malecontents that openly declared themselves, there was neither a Duke of *Orleans*, or a Prince of the Blood, as there was in the time of Cardinal *Richelieu's* Ministry: But it was in this, Men were most deceived; for Popular Commotions are more difficult to be appeas'd, than those wherein some great Person is engag'd; for he by some particular Favour seasonably bestow'd on him, is usually bought off from doing farther Mischief; whereas, many Arts are to be used to calm a mutinous Multitude, and especially when they have taken a fancy to Command.

The Revolt (of which I shall hereafter speak to your Majesty) was of this kind; for the Parliament of *Paris* was concern'd in it, though they decreed the Queen your Mother, should have the Tutition of your Majesty, with a more ample Power, than that which the deceased King by his Declaration left her; yet this being done by the solicitation of her chief Almoner the Bishop of *Beauvais*, who had a great many Friends, and to whom she had given hopes to be first Minister, as soon as he saw himself deceived, and not able to undoe what he had done, he did all he could to stir up Enemies against her. Her Majesty, who had a great Soul, and worthy of her high Birth, thought this was but a Wave which would break of it self, and whereof she was not so much as to seem to take any notice; nevertheless,
still

still aiming at your Majesty's Grandeur, she gave Orders to the Duke d' *Anguien*, who after the Battel of *Rocroy*, had given the Garrison of *Landrecis* great Liberty, by demolishing certain Castles that straighten'd it, to lay Siege to *Thyonville*. Mareschal de *Guebriant* who was on the other side of the *Rhine*, endeavour'd to amuse the Enemy, that they might not relieve the Place; nevertheless *Mello*, who had gotten together the scattered Troops of the *Spanish* Army, joyning with General *Bek*, resolv'd the Place should not be taken without Blows: But your Majesty's Fortune supported by the Duke d' *Anguien*'s Valour, frustrated all their Endeavours, so that this Conquest which made such a Noise abroad, began to make your Reign so Illustrious, that your Allyes, who fear'd the Death of the deceased King, would make a change in your Affairs, did now again begin to take Courage.

It was by your means, that the *Swedes* did not only keep their Conquests in *Germany*, but enlarged them. The *Dutchess* of *Savoy* likewise, by your Assistance, retook *Trin*, and *Pontdesure*, which were in the Possession of the *Spaniards*. But that which gave them more Trouble, was the Duke of *Braganza*'s putting the Crown of *Portugal* upon his own Head, by the Aid your deceased Father had given him; and still kept it in spite of all *Spain*, by the succours he receiv'd from you: The *Spaniards* had no better Success in *Catalonia*, where Monsieur *La Mothe* frustrated all their Designs; so that that Province revolted at the same time *Portugal* did, and maintained it self against all the Power of *Spain*. Your Majesty

Majesty likewise beat them at Sea, where the Duke *de Bressé*, who commanded your Fleet, set upon them in the Port of *Cartagena*. These Miracles were done in the first Year of your Minority, and lost none of their Lustre; but by the raising of the Siege of *Alexandria*, which Prince *Thomas* had a little too imprudently undertaken; and by a Tumult rais'd in *Rovergne*, which was quickly quash'd. That which is yet more wonderful, is, That your Realm, which was not very quiet, did not promise such favourable Events; and that you were also obliged to cause the Duke of *Beaufort* to be seised, who conspired against your Prime Minister: You at first resolved to have Exemplary Justice executed upon him, and therefore ordered your Court of Parliament to prosecute him: but you being the best of Men, caused all proceedings against him to cease, and you were contented he should expiate his Crime, only by imprisonment.

The following Year, 1664. was not altogether so prosperous, at least the beginning of it: For Mareschal *Guebriant's* Army was defeated at *Teuteling*, by their fault, under whose Command it remained after his Death. That General, who towards the end of the preceeding Year, had besieged *Rotuiel*, was there hurt with a Faucon Shot, whereof he died: Which may put your Majesty in mind of how great consequence it is to you, to have an experienc'd General; as such a one is hard to be found, so your Majesty ought not only to set a high Value upon him; but likewise oblige others to follow your Example. For is it not a strange thing to see with what Haughtiness

Monseigneur

Monſieur *Louvois* treats your Commanders, even from the higheſt to the loweſt ; 'tis with ſo much Pride, that it diſguſts all Men of any Courage ; and they would certainly deſert your Maſteſty, if their Love for you did not prevail over their Reſentments. I very well know, when he gives your Maſteſty an Account of things, he very much Miſ-represents them : He makes you believe, that unleſs your Commanders be kept Humble, they will not Obey you, and you ſhall never be ſerved by them as you ought to be : But he is much in the wrong ; For all your Subjects love you ſo well, that they all blindly obey you. The Marqueſs, with this Pretence, cloaks all his exorbitant Ambition ; he is very well pleaſed to mingle his own Intereſt with your Maſteſty's, which might be of dangerous conſequence to a King, not ſo Wiſe and Virtuouſ as you are. It would be an Inſenſible Uſurpation upon his Authority ; and there needed nothing more to plain the way to his Throne. Your Maſteſty perhaps doth not know, that to get Preferment, 'tis much better to be his Creature, than to have Merit ; ſo that he hath a greater Court than yours ; and all the difference between them is, that to meet with Succeſs in the one, Men muſt Cringe, and make low Bows ; but in the other, it is enough to be a Brave and an Honeſt Man.

The great Affairs, which your Maſteſty had then upon your Hands, did not hinder you from giving Refuge to a Princeſs perſecuted by Fortune : The *English*, who made War againſt their King, and by their evil Deſigns againſt him, made it evident, they would carry on their Attempts

tempts to the utmost extremity, your Majesty mollified his Misfortune, by giving a Retreat to the Queen his Wife ; which will not be one of the least remarkable Passages in your History ; since pity doth not always reign in the Hearts of Kings, they oftner giving ear to what Policy suggests, than to the Dictates of their Duty. But I can, without deceiving my self, say, that this Policy is none of the best, since the same Fate may befall all Sovereigns ; and it were better they would with their Arms punish Rebellion : Then perhaps it would not be so frequent as it is in all Kingdoms. But this is to advise what is impossible, it being now the general practice, rather quite to undoe, than help an unhappy Man.

For an Action so acceptable, God soon rewarded your Majesty, you made your self Master of *Gravelins*, notwithstanding all the *Spaniards* (under the Command of General *Picolomini*) could do to hinder it, your Army kept them from succouring *Germany*. You sent thither the Duke d' *Anguien*, who there gain'd the Famous Battel of *Friburg*, your Troops fighting three Days together to get a compleat Victory. The fruit of your Labours was the taking of *Phillipsbourg*, and all the places upon the *Rhine* near it. Beside, you reconfirm'd your Allyes, who were in great Consternation, for what had happened at *Teuteling*.

The House of *Austria* had it's Revenge in *Catalonia*, where Marechal de la *Motte* was beaten, in endeavouring to relieve *Lerida*, which was taken, and he forc'd to raise the siege of *Terragonne*, which he had invested to make a diversion. Ba-
laguier

laguier was also reduced, and so had been the whole Province, if the *Spaniards* Affairs had gone well in *Portugal*: But having lost a great Battel there, they were forc'd to carry some Troops thither, which did so weaken them, that they could do nothing more all that Campaign.

That of *Italy* likewise, was not very prosperous, after several Engagements, wherein the *Spaniards*, as well as your Majesty, met sometimes with good, and sometimes with ill Fortune.

Your Army was forced to quit the Siege of *Finall*; but you succeeded better in the prosecution of your Rights at *Rome*, where some endeavoured to affront you in the Person of your Ambassadour: The Protection which you gave to the Duke of *Parma*, from whom the Pope for his convenience had taken the Dutchy of *Castro*, weighed much with many in that Country; so that by your Medition, Peace was made with many Princes, who had taken Part in that Quarrel.

So many great things were not able to satisfy your Mind: you cut out work for the Emperour, who endeavoured to do the like to your Allies; and seeing he made the *Danes* Arm against the *Swedes*, you were not only quit with him, in stirring up the Prince of *Transilvania* against him; but you sent an Ambassador to the two Crowns to hinder their differences from proceeding any further: And since it was not your humour to give Counsel to others, which you would not follow your self, you consented to treat of a general Peace at *Munster*, where some were come together

ther, with a resolution to put an end to so great a work.

Your mediation was received by the Northern Crowns, in spite of all the Traverses made by the House of *Austria*, to render it suspected, and your Ministers finding so great a Progress made towards the ending of their Differences, their Endeavours succeeded so well, that a Peace was concluded. The *Sweeds* being delivered from their Troubles, caused by this War; you ordered Vicount *Turenne* whom you had sent the Year before into *Germany*, to take upon him the Command of Mareschal *Guebrient's* Army, and to act in concert with them; but tho' he was a great Captain, he was defeated at *Mariendall*, it being impossible for him to avoid it. Here begun the Campagne of 1645. wherein you had quickly your Revenge, almost in all places where you had Souldiers: You took *Roses* in *Catalonia*, having sent thither Count *Harcourt*, in the place of Mareschal *la Motthe*, whom you caus'd to be seized, not only for the Faults he was guilty of the former Campagne; but because to excuse himself, he endeavour'd to blemish the Reputation of your chief Minister, whom he accus'd to be the cause of his ill Success, pretending he had let him want all things: But 'tis not reasonable, that any Person should justify himself at another Man's cost; at least, when things are not as clear as the Day. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to relieve *Roses*; but Count *Harcourt* having opposed their Passage, while the Count *du Plessis Praslin* was before it; they tryed to put in Relief by Sea, but met with the same Difficulties, because your

Fleet was there: Your Majesty (who takes pleasure in rewarding Men of Merit) sent a Marechal's Staff to Count *du Plessis*. The taking of this Town, was follow'd with the defeat of the *Spaniards* in the plain of *Lirons*, and the re-taking of *Balaguier*; so that after so many happy Successes, all that had gone ill in the former Campagne, was quite forgot.

The Duke of *Anguien*, whom you sent again this Year into *Germany*, quickly reveng'd Vicount *Turenne*, by defeating the Enemy at *Norlingue*; while the Duke of *Orleans* in *Flanders*, took the Fort of *Mardyke*, *Link*, and *Bourbourg*. Your Majesty multiplied your Conquests, with adding those of *St. Venant*, *Lilliers*, *Armentiers* and *Bethunes*. You caus'd the Fort of *la Motthe* to be demolish'd, out of which the *Lorrain* Troops were driven with great difficulty, and which served them for a place of Retreat, after committing a thousand Robberies.

Prince *Thomas* had again signaliz'd the Glory of your Arms in *Italy*, if he could have kept *Vigevano* and its Cittadel, which he had taken: But it was impossible for him to resist the great Efforts the Enemy made to retake 'em. The Emperour, on his side, sent so strong an Army to the *Rhine*, that he re-took all the Places he had lost, *Phillipsbourg* only excepted. Perhaps it had not been done, if the Duke of *Anguien* had been at the Head of your Majesty's Troops; but he was fallen Sick, and return'd to *Paris*. Vicount *Turenne* in the mean time took *Treves*, and your Majesty restored it again to its lawful Prince, whom, after a long Imprisonment,

you

you set at Liberty : You have always been a Sanctuary to the Unfortunate, witness the *Barbarines*, to whom you gave protection, though all *Europe* thought them unworthy of it, for the War they had kindled in *Italy*, which was but just then extinguish'd : But it was enough when they were persecuted to have the Honour of your Protection ; of which the Duke of *Monaco* being confident, threw himself into your Majesty's Arms, and quitted the *Spaniards* Party, which till then he had followed.

The Year 1646, was full of great Events ; your Majesty took a second time the Fort of *Mardyke*, which the Enemy had re-taken towards the end of the Campaign ; your Majesty likewise took *Furnes* and *Dunquerque*, which gave so great an Alarm to all *Flanders*, that they thought themselves irrecoverably lost. Vicount *Turenne* enter'd into the very Heart of *Germany*, which made the Emperour perceive, it was better to make a Peace, than to hearken to the *Spaniards*, who endeavoured to perswade him, that your Majesty, during your Minority, was not able to bear the Burden of so many weighty Affairs, you had then upon your Hands. Nevertheless, your Minister engag'd you in an Enterprize, for which he ought never to be forgiven ; since it was in no wise to your Majesty's Advantage, and that the publique Interest was less consider'd in it, than his own. He had married one of his Relations to a Nephew of the *Barbarin's*, and this Alliance disposing him to do all he could for them, he carry'd the War to the Borders of *Tuscany*, and caused *Orbitelle* to be besieged :

His design in this, was to mortifie the great Duke; the *Barbarin's* capital Enemy; but this Enterprize having allarm'd all *Italy*, it gave such Succours to the *Spaniards*, as rais'd the Siege, tho' your Fleet had repuls'd the Enemy's. The Success which your Arms had at *Piombino* and *Portolongonne*, did drowne the Memory of this Loss; but the Joy for that Success was damp'd, by the raising of the Siege of *Lerida*, wherein Count *Harcourt* had spent seven Months to no purpose.

The Protection which your Majesty gave to the *Barbarines*, was so great an Advantage to them; that their Goods which had been seiz'd by the Pope's Order, were restored to them. The Cardinal *Desté* was also sensible of the Honour you did him, in embracing his Interest; for without it, the Admiral of *Castile*, would never have done him reason, who took a pleasure to insult him in the middle of the City of *Rome*. You were indeed at that time, the Protector of the Oppressed, which you made appear to the *Venetians*, in whose favour you sent an Ambassador to the great *Turk*, to dis-swade him from the War he was about to make upon them: The Respect which the Grand Signior had for your Majesty, made him promise all things; but Interest will prevail over Promises, when one hath to do with *Barbarians*; the *Turk* quickly forgot this, when he saw that Republique was not in Case to defend it self.

The Year 1647. was remarkable, for your Majesty's then having the Small-Pox, by which you were in great Danger: But we were soon
rid

rid of our Fear, when we saw the greatness of your Courage; for you ask'd Pardon for one of your Officers, whom the Queen had commanded not to come near you, she suspecting you were infected by him. What a loss had it been for *France*, and how great a happiness for *Spain*, if your Sickness had been Mortal, as 'twas feared? The *Spaniards* whom, as young as you were, you daily made to feel the weight of your Arm, were so astonisht, that they sent into *Flanders* the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, hoping that the greatness of his Birth, would incite him to out-do those that had preceeded him in the Government of those Provinces, and make better Head against your Majesty: He came into the Country with a good Army, and re-took *Amentiers*, *Landrecis*, and *Dixmude*: But you took from him *la Bassée*, and *Lens*, where you lost Marechal *Gassion*, who was there Mortally wounded. Your Majesty, who had been the last Year on the Frontiers, came thither again this Year, and inspired Courage into your Souldiers, by giving 'em great marks of your Liberality. But the Arch-Duke hindering you from making any further Conquests in that Country; your Majesty was very well pleased with the great Success your Arms had in *Germany*. The Duke of *Bavaria* was forced to accept of a Neutrality, as the Duke of *Saxony* had done some time before; so that the Emperour had at that Instant concluded a Peace, had not the *Spaniards* dissuaded him from it; their Reasons were, the appearance of some Sparks of the Civil-War, which soon after broke out; but the Mischief they wish'd us,

fell more upon them, than upon us; and the Revolt which hap'ned at *Naples*, put them into strange Confusion.

Your Majesty supported that Commotion, with all your Forces; and equip'd a brave Fleet to carry Succors thither: But the Duke of *Guise*, who had thrown himself into the Place, acting there independently from your Majesty; Cardinal *Mazarin* who did not love him, took occasion to recall the Fleet, without furnishing him with the Necessaries he wanted: The Cardinal was inexcusable, since it was a capital Crime not to lay hold of so fair an Opportunity; if your Majesty had not been in full Minority, you had been better served. Notwithstanding, the Duke of *Guise* maintain'd things with a great deal of good Fortune and Courage, while the Duke d' *Anguien*, who had now after his Father's Death taken the Name of the Prince of *Condé*, saw the Laurels he had gather'd in *Flanders* and *Germany*, wither by his ill Success before *Lerida*, which he had besieged.

I wish I could pass over in silence the Year 1648, a Year! Fatal to our Monarchy! and wherein, the greatest part of your Subjects began to fail in their Obedience to your Majesty; you know the pretence they had for it, were the many Taxes wherewith they were burdened; but the real Cause was, the Ambition of the Parliament, which pretended to enlarge its Authority; they began to examine all that your Majesty did in your Cabinet, and tho' you commanded them not to assemble about any other Business, than to judge and determine the differences

rences and Law-Suits depending between your Subjects ; yet they regarded not your Commands ; but condemned your Edicts, whereof the necessity of your Affairs required the publication. This put the Kingdom into so ill a Condition, that the Arch-Duke took *Furnes, Ettere and Lens* : The Prince of *Condé*, whom your Majesty sent against him, having taken *Tyres* the beginning of the Campagne, retook *Ettere*, and at *Lens* gave the Arch-Duke Battel and beat him : This Success encourag'd your Majesty to try to suppress the Sedition ; you caused the chief Rebels to be seized at their going out from the *Te Deum* sung at *Notredame*, for the Victory ; but instead of having, by this brisk Action, the Success you had reason t'expect ; it heightened the Rebellion to such a degree, that you had cause to be surpriz'd at it : The *Parisians* took Arms in Favour of the Prisoners, and having made Baricadoes in all the Streets within an Hundred Paces of your Pallace, they oblig'd you to release them. I draw a Curtain over the remembrance of an Action so displeasing to you, and so shameful in them ; if the Queen could have prevailed, she wou'd never have consented to it ; for she maintain'd it would be such a Blow to your Authority, as would be of dangerous consequence. I think she was in the right, and indeed this Condescension, served only to increase the Boldness of the Mutineers ; so that they were not long without making new Demands : However, this did not hinder the Emperour from concluding a Peace with your Majesty, who by having gain'd the Battel of *Sommerhausen*, redu-

ced him to such a condition, that he and those that had taken up Arms in his Favour, had been lost without it.

You took care of the Interest of your Allyes, whom the *Spaniards*, by their Intrigues, endeavoured to separate from you ; but what is more remarkable, you shewed your self the Protector of the Catholick Religion, though all your Allyes are Protestants, and which might very well have embroyled you with them. But the Emperour minded only his own Interests, and quite forgot those of Religion, which he had many times, during the War, made a shew of maintaining ; but there is great difference between Words and Deeds, which teacheth us, that if we will not be deceiv'd, it is much better to trust to the one, than to the other.

This Treaty, wherein your Majesty shew'd your self more firm to the Interest of your Allyes, than to your own ; procur'd you the Friendship of all the Princes of the Empire, who begun to look upon you as their Protector : They did no longer fear the Emperour's bereaving them of their Liberty, or that for the future, there would be any more Princes, who like *Charles V.* would endeavour to subject them. What mischief hath Monsieur *Louvois* done, to trouble a Harmony so necessary to both Parties ? from which the Emperour could never hope for any good ? It may also be said, that this Minister's Imprudence hath been very great ; seeing notwithstanding, the just Fears all the Empire ought to have, of his Imperial Majesty's Power, yet he hath so very ill treated all its Members,
that

that they are now again ready to unite against your Majesty ; many Politicians wonder at it, and say, that seeing they have more Reason to fear the Emperour, than your Majesty, they will take the wrong side, if they joyn again with the Emperour : But to be of their Opinion, it ought to be known, what this Minister of yours requires of them ; he never speaks to them, but with a Cudgel in his Hand, and since Sovereigns are not used to be so treated, they think if Chains are to be avoided, they are those which are presented with so much rudeness.

Your Majesty carry'd the War into *Italy*, notwithstanding you had so much to do in the Heart of your own Kingdom : But the *Spaniards* having taken the Duke of *Guise* Prisoner, and pacified the troubles of *Naples*, they made the Duke of *Modena* rise from *Cremona* which he had besieged after his taking part with your Majesty : But the *Spaniards* fail'd in the Design they had upon *Marseilles*, where they intended to burn your Majesty's Ships, wick were in that Port, and to seize upon the Town, where many of the Inhabitants held Intelligence with them. Your Majesty, to whom this was of extream great Consequence, caus'd those that were most guilty to be punisht, and pardon'd others, that by your Goodness, they might be induced not to fail for the future, in the Obedience they ow'd you : But the continual Attempts of the Parliament, being of very ill Example to those that were dis-affected ; in many Places, People lost all respect due to your Majesty ; so that the *Hollanders*, whom your Majesty, according to the Example of the King your
Father,

Father, and of *Henry IV.* of glorious Memory, had assisted against the *Spaniards*, made Peace with them.

Your Majesty, notwithstanding all this, maintain'd the War in *Catalonia*, with a great deal of Reputation; you rais'd the Siege of *Flix*, which the Enemy had invested, and made your self Master of *Tortose*, in sight of the Enemy's Army-Commanded by *Mello*, who went out of *Flanders* thither; and had it not been for the Rebellion of your Subjects, to how great a pitch had your Glory been rais'd? It was very much increas'd by the Victory your Navy had in the *Mediterranean*, tho' it was much Inferiour to that of the Enemy's; for it consisted not of above twenty nine Vessels, when they had Forty Two. Notwithstanding, this Inequality did not hinder you from sinking Three, and had not Night came on, they had reason to fear the loss of more.

So many Affairs, and of so great consequence, were enough to take up your thoughts, and seeing they always tended to the good of your State, you minded what pass'd in *Poland*, where the Glory of your Name frustrated all the *Spaniards* Endeavours, to have a King elected that should be a Friend to their Interest: But they were baffled in their Design; for *Casmire* Brother to the deceased, was preferr'd before the Person the *Spaniards* propos'd, for which he was wholly obliged to your Majesty:

C H A P. II.

*Containing what pass'd from the Paris War,
to the Peace of the Pyrenées.*

TH E Parliaments Attempts daily encreasing, notwithstanding the continual care *your Majesty* took to suppress them; it would have been weakness to have longer dissembled your Resentments, which made you resolve to punish the Offenders. You left the City of *Paris* engag'd in the Rebellion, and retir'd to *St. Germain* in *Laye*; you caused *Paris* to be block'd up by your *Flanders* Army, commanded by the Prince of *Condé*. This punishment ought to have made the *Mutineers* return to their Duty; but their Boldness equal'd their Disobedience, and after they had stirr'd up other Cities of your Kingdom to take their part, they rely'd on their own Strength to resist *your Majesty*. Scarce one (even the Coadjutor himself, forgetting his Character) but rais'd a Regiment against you: The Duke of *Beaufort*, who had escap'd out of Prison, was likewise one of *your Majesty's* mortal Enemies; the Prince of *Conti*, Brother to the Prince of *Condé*, also took Arms against *your Majesty*; the Dutcheß of *Longueville*, his Sister, with the Duke her Husband, fell in with the Parliament, and she, by her Beauty, drew in the Prince of *Marsillac*, who had more mind to her, than to signalize his Disobedience; but this Passion, L O V E, which blinds Men to that degree,
that

that they know not themselves, made him forget that respect he always had for *your Majesty*, and in which he was better instructed than others, because he had an infinite deal of Wit.

This was not the only mischief which Love did *your Majesty*; the Jealousie which this Prince of *Marillac* had against the Husband of the Dutchess, together with the fear he had his Passion might be discover'd, would not let him rest, till he got into *Normandy*, where he made that Province revolt, being Governour of it. We see what Springs Love sets a going, which we often attribute to Ambition, for want of searching things to the bottom; but it is a dangerous Passion, and very much to be condemned, when a Mistress makes us fail in our Duty to our Sovereign, to whom we are so closely ty'd, that we cannot be unfaithful to him, without being so to GOD.

The Blockade of *Paris* had not the Effect *your Majesty* expected; and tho' that great City suffer'd extremely, yet the Parliament continu'd so great an Aversion to your publique Minister, that they were so Bold, as to require his being sent out of the Kingdom, before they would lay down their Arms. This insolent Proposition was accompanied with others of the same nature; but since the Resolution of these Mutineers, did not answer the Hopes they had of giving Law to *your Majesty*, they had Recourse to the Enemies of the Kingdom, to procure Bread, which they very much wanted; for *your Majesty* had shut up the City so close, that it was at an excessive Price; and without speedy Relief,

Relief, they were ready to fall into extreme Necessity.

Your Majesty cannot reflect upon these terrible Marks of Rebellion, without being sensibly toucht with them ; and seeing it was of great Consequence to you, not to suffer your Enemies in that unhappy Conjuncture, to enter into the Heart of your Kingdom ; you did that, which brought the Parliament again to themselves ; you sent a Herald at Arms to make some Proposals to them, whereupon the Parliament being assembled, they thought in some manner to repair what had been done, in sending back the Herald without hearing him ; but at the same time assured *your Majesty*, they had refused him Audience, out of the profound Respect they had for you, because they could not pretend to receive such a Person, as was never us'd to be sent, but to Sovereigns.

This returning to their Duty, gave *your Majesty* occasion to exhort them to do better for the future, than they had done at present ; and the Conjuncture requiring, that you should seem not to resent the bold Attempts, they had made on your Authority, you granted a general Amnesty to the Parliament, and to those that had follow'd their Party.

Your Enemies did not fail to take Advantage of these Disorders, the Duke of *Lorrain*, whom the King your Father had driven out of his Country, for having often fail'd of performing the many Promises he had made him ; entred again into it, and made himself Master of many Towns ; he was likewise almost assured of retaking *Nancy*,
from

from which *Marquess de la Ferté's* Avarice had diverted all manner of Provisions : But when he saw that it might cost him his Head, he quickly came and caus'd all the Harvest of Corn and Fruit thereabout, to be carry'd into it, and thereby made some amends for the Fault he had committed ; upon which *your Majesty*, and all other *Monarchs* may make this Reflection ; That when a Subject prefers his own private Interest before his Prince's, he is not only unworthy of any Favour ; but is likewise responsible for all the Evils the People suffer : For 'tis plain, that what they do suffer is from such Men in Authority, who care not how they Ruin 'em, to enrich themselves : However, your present Circumstances did not then permit *your Majesty*, to take such Order in that Case, as at another time you might have done. Beside, this *Marquess* behaved himself so Prudently on other Occasions, that his Wisdom and Courage, in some measure, excus'd his Covetousness.

The Parliament did not cease to pursue their Designs, tho' your Majesty had had the Goodness to pardon them ; yet they were not altogether so bad as the Parliament of *England*, who were so wicked as to cut off their King's Head. Your Majesty was never seen to be so angry, as when you heard that News ; but the great Affairs wherein you were then engag'd, hinder'd you from punishing so foul a Crime : You had enough to do to oppose the Archduke, who retook *Ypres* and *St. Venant*, while Count *Harcourt* was besieging *Cambray* ; but that Enterprize did not succeed. Tho' he was oblig'd to
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quit it, yet he attack'd *Condé*, and took it by Composition. *Maubeuge* open'd her Gates to him; so that the Enemy would not have had much cause to brag, if they had not prevail'd in *Catalonia*.

This Province being so remote, that your Majesty could not send any Troops thither without a great deal of charge; and no Recruits going to supply the place of those that perish'd there the Year before, the Enemy took *Constantin*, *de Salo*, and *de Sirges*; but Count *Marcin* brake their Measures as to *Barcelona*, which they thought to have taken. In *Italy* also your Affairs receiv'd a considerable check: The Duke of *Modena*, who fear'd the War of *Paris*, would put it out of your power to give him the Succours he wanted, quitted your Party; whence follow'd the loss of many considerable Posts, which had cost a great deal of trouble, and many Men.

But it was of much greater importance to your Majesty, to settle a Calm in your Kingdom, than to preserve your Conquests which were so far off: Therefore, after you had reduc'd *Paris* to its Obedience, and sufficiently provided for the Frontier of *Piccardy*, which the Enemy threaten'd, all your aim was to make *Provence* and *Guyenne* submit; where there were as great Commotions, as in the Capital City of your Kingdom. This was happily effected by your Majesty; and having also the good Fortune to divert a Storm that was gathering on the Frontier of *Germany*, where Viscount *Turenne*, instigated by his Brother, endeavour'd to debauch the Troops
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he Commanded, your Kingdom would have recover'd its former Lustre, if the Prince of *Condé* had not set so high a Price on the Services he had done *your Majesty*, that it was almost impossible to satisfy him.

His Ambition could not, without murmuring, bear his being denied some Favours; tho' he had obtain'd many from *your Majesty* for his Relations that had born Arms against you; who for that Reason, rather deserv'd to be punish'd than rewarded. It was Prudence however in *your Majesty* to conceal your Displeasure for his Affronts; and there was danger in opposing the Prince; because the great Things he had done, had got him much Credit in the Army. The intelligence which he also kept with the *Frondeurs*, who all, and every where, declared themselves against *your Majesty*, made you Prudently dissemble the Distaste you had against him: but your *Minister* having found an *Italian* trick, to sow dissention among his Party, which would not have been pardonable, were it not to secure the Liberty of your State; you resolv'd to cause the Prince to be Arrested, which was executed with a great deal of Dexterity

Your *Minister* in the mean time was so afraid you would miss your Blow, that he kept himself Booted to be gone the very Moment it had fail'd: But Success having answer'd his Hope, he again took Courage; so that there was no question of preventing the ill Consequences of so bold a stroke; your Majesty provided against 'em, by doing two things which were absolutely necessary: The one was to let the People know the true
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Reasons you had to arrest him. The other was to march in Person where it appear'd he had most Friends, and consequently where there was most likelihood of any Commotion.

What an excellent thing, S I R, is Prudence ! *Your Majesty* had already been accus'd of not acknowledging the great Services a Subject had done you : Your Minister likewise pass'd for a very ingrateful Person, in the Opinion of the People. He knew, had it not been for the Prince, he could hardly have secur'd himself against the Hatred of the *Parisians* and the Parliament. But when the People knew the Prince's Services had been rewarded, with the Place of Great Master of *your Majesty's* Household, with the Governments of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, and *Guyenne* ; with a Grant of the Demesnes of *Clermont*, *Stenay*, and *Jammets* ; of *Pont de l'Arche*, and of *Diep*, which he had gotten for the Duke of *Longueville* ; of *Danvilliers*, and the Government of *Champagne*, for the Prince of *Conti* ; and a great number of other Favours, as well for himself, as for his Creatures. There was not a Man but chang'd his Opinion, and loudly declar'd, That if there were an ingrateful Man in the World, it was the Prince of *Condé*.

The Voyage you first made into *Normandy*, and after into *Burgundy* and *Guyenne*, pacify'd those Princes, where the Prince's Creatures, (supported by the Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, whom you likewise caused to be Arrested) endeavour'd to animate the People against your Majesty. You did not think fit to go your self into *Berry*, where the Danger did

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not

not appear so great ; because that Province was shut up in the middle of your Kingdom, and could receive no assistance from the *Spaniards*, who watch'd an Opportunity to take advantage of so many Accidents that seem'd favourable to them. You sent thither the Count *St. Agnan*, who kept the Province in Obedience, but had not Strength enough to drive the Marquess *Persan* out of *Montron*, a strong Place that belong'd to the Prince of *Condé*.

How well had your Majesty been pleas'd, could you so easily have settled things in other places, which you had reason to fear could not be done, in the midst of so many Troubles that lay so heavy on you, and under which another must have sunk. Viscount *Turenne*, who retir'd to the Arch-duke, after he had miss'd his Blow, came to *Stenay*, where his Love to the Dutches of *Longueville*, did not keep him from entring into the Kingdom, at the head of an Army, which he had rais'd with the Money lent him by the Arch-duke, and with his Mistress's Jewels, which he pawn'd to the *Jews* of *Metz*. He thought, during this time of Disorder and Confusion, he should be able to get again into *Sedan*, which the Duke of *Bouillon* his Brother had given to the deceas'd King, to spare his Life in great danger, for his having enter'd into the Treaty of *Madrid*. He came near the Place, thinking the Memory of his Ancestors would have procur'd him Friends ; but every one kept to his Duty ; and seeing the Town was well provided, and a brave Man, with a good Garrison, commanded in it, he was oblig'd to turn his Arms another way.

If a Man may make any Reflections upon his Attempt, it seems to me not well design'd ; or at least that the Inhabitants of the Town would have done very ill, had they preferr'd the Government of his Family before *your Majesty's* ; for those People are unhappy, who are Rul'd by petty Princes; they having not Forces enough of their own to secure their Fortune, are under a continual Obligation of being assisted by foreign Troops ; where their Subjects are often expos'd to the Calamities of War, and are sometimes a Prey to one, and sometimes to another. Which are not to be fear'd, when People are under the Government of a Great King, who when any Storm ariseth, can quickly allay it.

It was not only your Frontier of *Champagne* which was threaten'd, but likewise that of *Piccardy* : The *Spaniards* appear'd there with an Army; and having made themselves Masters of *Catelet* and *la Chapelle*, they attempted *Guise* ; but not thinking it fit to lose Time about it, they resolv'd to join with the Arch-duke and Viscount *Turenne*, who were enter'd into *Champagne*. Viscount *Turenne*, who knew what was best to be done, advanc'd so far as *Ferté Milon*, with an intention to deliver the Prince of *Condé* out of *Vincennes* : But *your Majesty* having broke his Measures, by causing the Prince to be carry'd to *Marcoussis*, and from thence to *Havre de Grace*, the Viscount was oblig'd to return, and join the Arch-duke, who had taken *Rbetel*, and some other Places.

Champagne, which groan'd under the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, who put all to Fire and Sword, took

Arms, and augmented the Army of *Marquies du Plessis*, whom *your Majesty* had sent to guard that Frontier. He thought with these Succours to have been able to retake *Rhetel*; and having invested it, the Arch-duke endeavour'd to raise the Siege. This prov'd of great Advantage to *your Majesty*, to whom the Defeat of your Army would have been of very dangerous Consequence. Nevertheless, since it was impossible for you any longer to see your Enemies in the heart of your Kingdom, you sent Cardinal *Mazarin* to the Mareschal; that upon his own knowledge of your Strength, he might give order either to fight or retreat. The Cardinal, who was naturally very fearful where there was danger, was at first of Opinion not to run any hazard; but the Mareschal *du Plessis*, who convinc'd the Cardinal of what ill Consequence it would be, to give the Enemy any signs of their Weakness, it was resolv'd in a Council of War, wherein this Minister was present, to fight.

The Mareschal *du Plessis* having rais'd the Siege, march'd directly toward the Enemy, who was now become more numerous by the Duke of *Lorraine's* Troops. The Fight was sharp and obstinate on both sides; but God gave your Majesty so compleat a Victory, that Viscount *Turenne* was forc'd to fly only with sixteen Persons, being abandon'd by all his Troops; for the Arch-duke went off one of the first, and left him to shift for himself. He was very near being taken in so long a retreat as he had to make, and wherein he was so hotly pursu'd; but having defended his Life and Liberty, at their cost who
 attack'd

attack'd him, he sav'd himself in *Barleduke*, into which when he enter'd, People thought him very much wounded, being cover'd all over with Blood; but it prov'd only the Blood which he had drawn of your faithful Subjects.

Your Majesty heard of this Victory with unspeakable Joy; and sent to *Marquês d'Aumont*, *d'Hoquincourt*, and *de la Ferté*, each a Marechal's Staff, who had very particularly signaliz'd themselves in that Battel. It was to excite others to follow their Example; for there is nothing more animates your Nobility, than the Honours you bestow on them; and the *French* are of that Temper, that they will sacrifice a thousand Lives (if they had so many) in the Service of their King, if he give 'em but a good Word, or the least Preferment.

'Tis for this also, that *your Majesty* is belov'd by your Subjects; you that have the Secret, even in refusing to grant Requests, to oblige those whom you deny, by your manner of denying them: For a Prince ought to have the Gift of not only making himself to be fear'd, but that also of making himself belov'd. For Fear without Love degenerates into Distrust; which makes People suspect, that he who ought to be both Father and Master, will turn Tyrant. And this Suspicion is so dangerous, that there is nothing which a King should not do, to keep it out of his Subjects Minds.

If the Prince of *Condé's* Party, which he had in *France*, did your Majesty so much harm upon the Frontiers of *Picardy* and *Champagne*, it did you a great deal more in *Italy*; where it was

impossible for you to succour *Piombino* and *Porto Longonne*, which fell again into the *Spaniards* hands. Your Majesty, to whom the Preservation of *Catalonia* was of great importance, sent thither the Duke of *Mercœur*, who seiz'd Count *Marcin*, the Prince of *Condé's* Creature, and who did all he could to debauch the Troops you had in that Country. This foresight sav'd *Barcelona*, where the Enemy kept intelligence, having a great mind to recover that Place. But the Duke of *Mercœur* being no great Captain, and the state of your Affairs not permitting you to send him any considerable Succours, all languish'd in that Country, and your Reputation began to decline in those Parts.

However, the Choice of this General was not to be imputed to your Majesty; it was a Court-Intrigue that oblig'd you to prefer him, before many other Commanders of much greater Experience. But there being a Reconciliation made between your Minister, and the Duke of *Beaufort*, whose eldest Son *Mercœur* was; he was to have a share of those Favours, which, when the Accommodation was made, were agreed on. Beside, the Cardinal design'd to marry one of his Nieces to him, and therefore thought it much better to prefer him than another: Your Majesty was then too young to perceive what prejudice you receiv'd by it, and how dangerous it is for a Minister to prefer his own Interest before his Master's. But, God be thanked, it was not long ere our Eyes were open'd in so nice a point, and no Prince ever knew better than you, to give to all Persons those Employments which are fit for them.

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This was not the only Fault which Cardinal *Mazarin* did. The desire he had to be the sole powerful Man in the Kingdom, made him seek how to amuse those he made use of, to destroy the Prince of *Condé*. The Bishop of *Langres*, Favourite of Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans*, your Uncle, without whose privity the Prince was arrested, from that time never forgave the Cardinal; so that joining himself with others who envy'd the Fortune of that Minister, they all strove to ruine him.

The Parliament, who sought by all means to augment their Authority, and being perswaded, that during your Minority was the properest time to effect it, divers Counsels were held, wherein they resolv'd to demand the Enlargement of the Prince of *Condé*, and his Brothers, with the Banishment of Cardinal *Mazarin*. Your Majesty oppos'd it, with a Resolution becoming your great Courage; but Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans* heading those who design'd the Destruction of this Minister, and all the States of the Kingdom joining with 'em, you were oblig'd to grant what they desir'd, in point of Policy, tho' it was very much against your Will.

Cardinal *Mazarin* seeing himself forced to depart the Realm, thought to make the Prince of *Condé*'s enlargment a piece of Merit to himself; he went to *Havre de Grace*, and deliver'd to him a Letter under the Privy Signet, antedated before another which was sent to set him at Liberty: The Prince who had been informed by *Perrault*, Overseer of his Household, (who had leave to see him, under pretence of his Mothers Will)

what endeavours had been us'd to get him out of Prison, own'd the Cardinal's Civility, which he shew'd in coming himself to bring him such good News; yet it was impossible not to suspect all the Protestations he made him of his Friendship, and those humble Submissions he used in desiring the Prince's.

The Prince of *Condé* did not break out into any Passion against him, were it that he thought him not worth his Anger, or that the Joy he had for being at Liberty, calmed his Resentments. Cardinal *Mazarin* retir'd to the Elector of *Collen*, and the Prince came back to *Paris*, where he was received in Triumph, tho' they had made Bonfires throughout the whole Town when he was Arrested. But such hath always been the Peoples Inconstancy, that no body knows how so to fix 'em, as to secure their esteem; but as soon as a Man steps out of the way, be it to the Right or Left, they presently return to their old Inclination. The Prince was ador'd by the People, when he fought with so much Reputation against the Enemies of your Kingdom; but lost their Favour when he took Arms against them: tho' he only obey'd your Majesty's Orders in punishing their Treason, which was so great, that they deserved to be treated by him, as the most cruel of your Enemies.

The Parliament past divers Sentences against your Minister, without at all consulting your Majesty: They caus'd his Library to be sold by Outcry, they set a Price upon his Head, and did many other things of like Nature: which your
Majesty

Majesty very prudently Dissembled, because it had been a gross Fault to have oppos'd a Torrent, which was become so violent. *Your Majesty* forgave Viscount *Turenne*, who having acknowledged his Fault, came to ask Pardon for it; In the mean time, the Prince of *Condé* grew very Powerful; but your Minister was Faulty in not performing his Promise, to those who had taken part with him, in Arresting the Prince. Which was not warning sufficient to the Prince, to keep him from doing the like. For he began to despise, and disoblige his Friends. Viscount *Turenne* was one of the first of those who were so treated by him; for having desir'd the Prince to give good Winter-Quarters to some Troops which he look'd upon as his own, tho' *your Majesty* pay'd 'em, the Prince took no notice of his Request: The Viscount also knew, the Prince us'd to rally him for his Love to his Sister, and made it a common talk among those who were most in his Favour; which touch'd the Viscount so much to the Quick, that he came to the Queen, your Mother, and promis'd her, that nothing in the World should make him fall into the same fault he had committed; and that for the future, he would do all he could, to blot out the Memory of it; assuring her Majesty, she might rely upon his Fidelity.

He said as much to *your Majesty*, and oblig'd his Brother the Duke of *Bouillon* to make you the same Protections: This Example teacheth us how dangerous Rallery is, and how much it provokes Men of great Courage. But this is a needless Reflexion to be made to *your Majesty*,
who

who never speaks ill of any body, and when you speak of your greatest Enemies, 'tis only of those Qualities you know commendable in them; neither will *your Majesty* suffer any to speak evil of others in your presence, wherein *your Majesty* is much in the Right, seeing there is little difference, between evil speaking and approving it.

The Prince did very ill in another thing; He had assured the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Dutchess of *Cheveruse*, and the Coadjutor, that for the future his Interest and theirs should be the same, and that the Prince of *Conti* should Marry the Dutchess's Daughter. This Promise being made when he was in Prison, was not thought Valid by the Dutchess, because it looked as if it had been forced; she therefore came to the Prince, and releas'd him of it: But he told her, tho' he was not oblig'd, yet because she treated him in so civil a manner, the thing should be done. Tho' he was now doubly oblig'd, yet such was his Humour, that he would not be beholding to any body. He quickly forgot his Obligation, nor was he so Civil, as to do any thing to discharge himself of it.

In the mean time, *your Majesty*, who did not like your Minister's being forc'd from you, tryed all ways to have him return handsomly, without causing any new Troubles in your Kingdom: But the aversion which every one had against him, and the Arrests that had past to exclude all Foreigners from the Ministry, wou'd have made it very difficult, had it not been for the Prince's ill Conduct, which daily increas'd, being

ing press'd by the Prince of *Conti*, passionately in Love with Mademoiselle *Chevereuse*, to consent to his Marriage, he told him he would not, and that he would not have him take the Coadjutor's, the Marquess of *Laisques*, and *Caumartin's* leavings.

These Three often visited her, and there needed no more to make the Prince of *Conti* believe that what the Prince of *Condé* had said was true: He presently quitted her, in spite of his Love, and seriously told all the World, how much he was oblig'd to his Brother, who had drawn him from a *Préceps*, from whence he was falling headlong. This Discourse was carried to Madam *Chevereuse*, and to those who were concern'd in it, and wrought more for the return of your Minister, than all that *your Majesty* could have done. So true is it, that Chance produceth many unforeseen Accidents, which prevail over all humane Reason and Prudence. The Dutcheß of *Chevereuse*, whose Cabal was very strong, offer'd *your Majesty* to employ her Friends to facilitate your Minister's return. And now *your Majesty* being in your Fourteenth Year, you were declared of full Age, you went to the Parliament to have the Declaration register'd, and at the same time carried thither two Edicts, which serv'd for marks to Posterity of your Piety towards God, and of your Love to your People. The first, was against those that blasphem'd God's holy Name. The other was against Duels, which you swore on the holy Bible to see exactly executed, that
you

you might never be importun'd concerning it; and resolv'd never to retract what you had sworn.

In this you did not like many others, who in a few days forget their Promises: For, ten or twelve Years after, some considerable Persons of your Nobility, having fought, contrary to this Edict; you had made them an Example, had they not gone out of the Kingdom; but that which is more remarkable is, that the Pope interceded with you for them, and offer'd to absolve you from your Oath; but the tendernefs of your Conscience would not suffer you to grant what he desir'd. You thought that when once People believ'd your Pardon might be obtain'd by Mediation, those disorders would never cease, to which *your Majesty* was fully resolv'd to put an end. Beside, you would not let it be said, that Recommendation had a greater Power over you, than Justice.

Your Majesty could not endure your People shou'd give Law to you, concerning your Minister Cardinal *Mazarin's* return. You retir'd a second time from *Paris*. The Duke of *Orleans* your Uncle would not follow you, neither would the Prince of *Condé*, who a few Days after, possess'd with a Panick Fear he should be Arrested, left the City; and being gone to his House at *St. Maur*, you did all you could to cure him of this Suspicion; but because when a Man knows himself guilty, he never thinks himself secure from Punishment; he went into the Country and retir'd to *Montrond*. The Prince of *Conti*, the Prince *Marsillac*, and some others, at the same time took up their Quarters in *Guyenne*: The Duke

Duke of *Rochefoucault* having stir'd up some Troubles in *Poitou*, you had those two Provinces to reduce, as well as the City of *Paris*, which openly declar'd against *your Majesty*.

The Pretence of all these Revolts was, that you would have Cardinal *Mazarin* return, against your Word given to the contrary. But seeing most of the Heads of this Party had promis'd you to consent to his Return, for Favours done them; you could not believe that was the true Reason: You plainly saw, that Ambition had a greater share in their Disobedience, than the Hatred they had for the Cardinal.

It was easie for the *Spaniards*, at this time, to do their Business: They re-took most of the Places you had conquer'd since you ascended the Throne: But *your Majesty* thought the safety of your Kingdom to be of greater Consequence to you, than any thing else: You ran to the Place where there was most Danger, you went into *Poitou*, after you had in Person reduc'd *Berri*, where the Prince of *Condé* had rais'd some Troubles. You declar'd him a Rebel, and a Disturber of the publick Peace, with all his Adherents. But this made none of 'em return to their Duty, and your Authority was so little regarded, that in two Months time, the Parliament wou'd not register your Declaration; tho' their Interest were different from the Prince of *Condé's*, and with whom they did not act in concert.

The strongest Cabal which took part with *your Majesty*, was that of the Duke of *Vendosme* and the Coadjutor: But you were necessitated to buy both; which was by giving one the place of
Admiral

Admiral of *France*; and by promising the other you would nominate him for a Cardinal's Cap, at the next promotion that should happen. You thought these Favours nothing in comparison of the Services these Men cou'd do you in so nice a Conjunction; especially in relation to *Paris*, which had not yet declared for the Prince of *Condé*, and where they had many Friends.

Your Presence in *Poitou* quickly suppress'd the Rebellion there; the capital City of that Province open'd its Gates to you, and the Cardinal being come thither to you with some Troops which he had rais'd in *Germany*, you forced the Rebels to quit the Siege of *Coynac*; you drove them also out of some Posts they had possess'd; but could not reduce 'em in *Bordeaux*; for the Prince of *Condé*, who was come thither, had infus'd new Courage into those, who before seem'd dispos'd to submit to your Majesty.

In the mean time, *Paris* (which went nearer your Heart than any thing else) seeing Cardinal *Mazarin* return, publickly declar'd for the Prince of *Condé*. Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans* likewise acted against your Majesty, tho' he had many times said, he was not to be suspected for his not being at Court. But how cou'd he clear himself from Suspicion, who had hearken'd to evil Counsel all his Life, and alway had near him the Bishop of *Langres*, who was enrag'd to miss the Cardinal's Cap, which had been so often promis'd him. Belide, Mademoiselle de *Montpensier*, who had a great desire to be Marry'd, feeding her self with the hope the Prince of *Condé* gave her, she should have his Son; spoke for him to her

her Father, without making any Reflection, that she was old enough to be the Mother of him she had a mind to make her Husband.

Among so many declared Enemies there were some secret ones, whom *your Majesty* did not distrust; but on the contrary, had reason to think them your most Faithful Subjects. The Duke of *Beaufort* for a time was one of this Number, notwithstanding all you had done for him and his Family. But weary of wearing the Foxes Skin, he put on the Lions, and took the Field against *your Majesty*. The Goadjutor did not declare himself so openly, but vex'd to see that by Cardinal *Mazarin's* Return, he was never like to come into his place; did, underhand, all he could to ruin him, tho' he was sure it would very much displease *your Majesty*. The Jealousie which arose between the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, who were both joyntly to command an Army; gave *your Majesty* an Opportunity to draw near to them, that you might take some Advantage of their division: But the Prince of *Condé* prevented you, by passing *incognito* through all the Provinces beyond the *Loire*; and by putting himself at the Head of the Army, where his Presence was necessary to settle a right understanding between the two Princes; of whose disagreement, the only cause was their Ambition to command singly and exclusively to one another. *Your Majesty* did all you could to have taken the Prince in so long a March, and where there were so many Rivers to pass; you set guards upon all the Fords, and sent out many Parties into the field, which was all you could

do.

do. But since all the care in the World is to no purpose, where Men will be false and treacherous; *Bussy Rabutin* let him pass, so that he came safe to his Army, which was then near *Chatillon* upon *Loin*.

Your Majesty, who knew not at first in what manner he had escap'd, thought to repair this Blow by a Battel, wherein you hop'd to have the better. The two Armies join'd near *Bleneau*, where the Avantguard of yours, commanded by *Mareschal Hoquincourt*, was so ill treated, that if *Viscount Turenne* had not come to his Relief, your Majesty, who was at *Gergeau*, had been in danger of being taken: But his Experience having placed you Beyond a narrow Pass, he defended it with so much Courage till Night came on, that the Prince, who promis'd himself an entire Victory, could he have pass'd the Defile; was oblig'd to be contented with that advantage he had gotten.

Your Majesty was happy, that the Prince had then so great a desire to go to *Paris*, where he thought this new beam of Glory, would procure him a Reception with some kind of Triumph. 'Tis certain that Ambition was not the sole cause of this Voyage; and that Love had a great part in it: For he had given up his Heart to the Dutchess of *Chatillon*; and the desire he had to see her, made him lose the Advantage he might have drawn from this Victory. This was a Fault which many great Princes commit, and 'tis a Miracle if they conquer their Passion. The Prince of *Condé* is not the only Person that hath been faulty in this kind, and *your Majesty* knows, that
there

there is a Prince beside him, whose Reputation is much greater than his, that is fallen into the same Fault. A Man may be in Love, and yet do his Duty ; for tho' it be difficult, yet 'tis but to remember, that every one hath his Eyes upon what he doth, and nothing can stop their observation. A Prince, who hath care of his Honour, will never suffer such hold to be taken of him ; he will rather conquer himself for a time, than give the least Stain to his Reputation: Beside, an Opportunity once lost, is not easily retriev'd; whence we are to conclude, that when a thing can be done, it never ought to be put off till to Morrow.

The Prince of *Condé's* Absence, gave *your Majesty* an Opportunity to recruit your Army with ease; so that in some time after, it was again in a Condition to be fear'd. The Duke of *Orleans*, who had wholly declar'd himself against *your Majesty*, fearing to be run down, sent to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Lorraine* for his Assistance; and the *Spaniards*, who every Year hir'd his Troops, consented to it. He enter'd *France*, and march'd toward *Estampes*, which Viscount *Turenne* had besieg'd. The Place of it self was not considerable, but being defended by a good Garrison, it held out longer than People thought it wou'd; so that the Duke of *Lorraine* might have come time enough to have reliev'd it, which much troubled *your Majesty*; but according to his ordinary Practice, being more us'd to Plunder than to Fight, he made such little Marches, that the Place was taken before he came to it.

Viscount *Turenne* in perfect spite march'd against him, and forc'd him to repass the *Seine*; he encamp'd at *Villaneue St. Georges*, where without great disadvantage, he could not be forc'd to fight, he pillag'd all *Brie*, as well as the plain Country about *Paris*, for which he had the Curses of the *Parisiens*, who flatter'd themselves, he was come to relieve, and not to Plunder 'em: But all their Complaints were to no purpose; *your Majesty*, who was as much concern'd as they, seeing they cou'd not be ruin'd without your being sensible of it; endeavour'd to gain the Duke of *Lorraine*, that he might cease pillaging the Country: there was some appearance of prevailing with him, *your Majesty* having wherewith to tempt him; for you were posselt of his Country which you offer'd to restore upon reasonable Conditions: But he lov'd ready Money, better than Offers so advantageous to him; *your Majesty* having granted him a Pass, he went out of the Kingdom to their great astonishment who called him in: *Your Majesty* was likewise much surpris'd, not believing a Prince of his Birth, cou'd act in such a manner, upon so base an Account: But Kindness to his Children, which he had by the Princess *de Cantecroix*, made him think of nothing but getting Money, seeing he cou'd not settle the Country of *Lorraine* upon 'em, for two Reasons; the one was, because it was his Wife's Inheritance; the other was, he had those Children not by his Wife, and therefore being incapable of succeeding him, he resolv'd to give them Portions in Money for their Maintenance.

The King of *England*, the unfortunate Son of a more unhappy Father, who was come to seek Refuge and Relief from *your Majesty*, serv'd you perfectly well in this Treaty, which troubled you very much, till it was ended: For if the Duke of *Lorrain* wou'd, he might have put Viscount *Turenne* hard to it, whom you thought for some time in great danger, because he was come too near his Camp; but he happily got out of the Briars by his admirable Conduct, which gain'd him a great deal of Reputation, as well with the Enemy as among his own Souldiers.

Your Majesty having made a good end of so difficult an Affair, gave no leisure to the Rebels, and by your Presence so encourag'd your Army, that the Prince of *Condé* saw himself, and his Troops ready to fall into your Hands: For you pursued him so hotly, that he was forced to possess himself of the Bridge of *St. Cloud*, by which he thought to avoid a Battel, but *your Majesty* having laid a Bridge over the *Seine*, he saw himself ready to be attack'd in Front and Rear, he then got under the Walls of *Paris*, and march'd round it to get to *Charenton*; Viscount *Turenne* who observ'd it, follow'd him so close, that he begun to charge his Reer near *Port du Temple* and *Port St. Martin*; which oblig'd him to hasten his March, and being come to the height of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, he made use of some Retrenchments which Chance afforded him, they having been made to secure the Citizens against the Thievery of the Duke of *Lorrain's* Troops.

There he lodg'd his Foot, in better Order than the shortness of the time seem'd to permit, and drew in his Cavalry ; he sent the Duke of *Beaufort* into the City, to perswade the Citizens to let in and secure his Baggage, and declare for the Prince : But the Fear the *Parisiens* had to be pillag'd, made them shut and place Guards at their Gates. The Prince of *Condé*, when he saw this, rang'd all his Baggage along the Ditch, and caus'd Holes to be made through the Houses, where he saw your Forces advance. *Your Majesty* was posted at *Menill* to see this Attack, which would have rejoyc'd your great Heart, had it been to fight with your Enemies, and not against your Subjects : The Onset was furious, and your Troops having forc'd the Retrenchments, Vicount *Turenne* brought up his Canon to a Place call'd the Throne ; because one had been there erected, to receive *your Majesty*, when after your Marriage you made your entrance into the City. The Prince of *Condé* did all he cou'd to sustain your Peoples Efforts, who encourag'd by your Presence did Wonders, and God, who would not suffer the Rebellion to continue, gave *your Majesty* an entire Victory ; so that the Prince of *Condé* had been utterly lost, if *Paris* had not open'd its Gates to him, where he sav'd his remaining Troops. Mademoiselle *Montpensier* did the Prince this Service, and caus'd the Canon to be discharg'd upon *your Majesty*, and *your Minister*, who was very near you.

This Victory astonish'd the *Parisiens*, and those who were of the Prince of *Condé*'s Party ;
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your Majesty having some faithful Subjects in this great City, who made People sensible how much they had fail'd in their Duty to *your Majesty*, so that they were a long time in suspense, before they agree'd to give the Prince that Assistance, he so much wanted. This occasion'd an Assembly, which met two Days after at the Town-House, where were a great many Persons, who, in some manner, represented the States general, of whom a Convocation had been demanded of *your Majesty*, and which you had promis'd, to free your self of their Importunities : But as you had there your Creatures, as well as the Prince had his, while they were disputing what Resolutions to take, the Mutineers broke open the Doors, and kill'd some of the Deputies, an only Son of a Councillor of the great Chamber, a considerable quality in that time, was with some others slain. This Murder having caus'd great Confusion, those of *your Majesty's* Party, put Paper in their Hats to be known by one another ; the other Party wore Straw in theirs, which Mark, some of the greatest Lords in your Court, were forc'd to wear, as well as others in *Paris* : They that put Straw in their Hats, quickly became the stronger Party, and falling upon those that wore Paper, the Marechal de *L' Hopitall* Governour of the City, had much ado to save himself. Many were of Opinion, that it was the Prince of *Condé* who stir'd up this Tumult, and wou'd have charg'd it on Cardinal *Mazarin*, to render him the more Odious. but whether the truth were discover'd, or People begun to be weary of disobeying their Master,

every one thought of making Peace with *your Majesty* ; the Duke of *Orleans* made Propositions to you, and so did the Parliament ; but you found them so high, and so void of that respect which was due to you ; that instead of hearing them, you were so angry with the Parliament, that you remov'd it to *Ponthoise*.

This Action accompany'd with many other of the like Nature, quite astonish'd the Mutineers ; the Prince of *Condé* nevertheless endeavour'd to warm his Party again, who were ready to leave him : But the Parliament being upon the point of turning their backs upon him, as well as your Uncle the Duke of *Orleans* ; he threw himself into the Arms of the *Spaniards*. *Your Majesty* made a prudent use of this Conjunction, and to unite all Parties, you feign'd to send Cardinal *Mazarin* away a second time, whom many made the pretence of their Rebellion ; so that no longer having a Cloak to cover it, they all resolv'd to return to their Duty, provided *your Majesty* would grant them a general Act of Ob-

Appanage signifies the Portion given to the King of France's younger Children.

livion ; you did not think fit to refuse it, and the Duke of *Orleans* being retir'd to *Blois*, a Town assign'd him for part of his *Appanage*, *your Majesty* had now no more to do, but to return to the Capital City of your Kingdom.

You were humbly importun'd to do it by your Parliament, and in the Name of the Clergy by the Coadjutor ; who according to the promise given him, had been made a Cardinal, and who came expressly to wait upon you

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at *Compiègne*; *your Majesty* call'd a Council there to be advis'd, whether you should not cause him to be Arrested, to punish him for his breach of Faith, in not performing the Promises he had made you: But it was thought fit, first to make a firm settlement of your Authority, and when that was done, you would be much better able to do what you thought good. 'Tis indeed Prudence to let things ripen, and to do a thing out of season, is to spoil all.

Some blame the Prince, who might have had *your Majesty's* Pardon, had he sought it in a decent manner: because he took a fancy to follow the Duke of *Lorraine's* example, who pillag'd and plunder'd Friends and Enemies without any distinction; but it is not to be believ'd, that a Prince of his Birth and great Mind, cou'd have any Thoughts unworthy of the one or the other; yet he ransack'd the Frontier of *Campagne* as he went off, and after he had taken *Rhetel* and *St. Menéhoult*, he retir'd to *Namur*.

He had there some Conference with a Minister of the Arch-Duke's, who before he wou'd let the Prince come to *Bruxells*, would know whether he would give him the Hand. This Proposition made the Prince sensible, to what Displeasures he had expos'd himself by his Disobedience; but his great Courage not suffering him to hesitate what answer to make; he sent the Arch-Duke word, that the Honour he had to be the first Prince of the Blood of *France*, had too well taught him, what was his Right for him, ever to part with it: He therefore pretended to take place of the Arch-Duke were he not in the Low-

Countries, where he represented his Catholick Majesty, in that Quality he would give him the upper Hand when he went to visit him; but when the Arch-Duke in his turn came to see him, he expected the same. The Arch-Duke was not pleas'd with so haughty an Answer, and believing that after what the Prince had done, there was no more returning for him into *France*; he insisted upon the Prince's giving him place every where, to which the Prince wou'd never consent: The thing at last went so far, that he caus'd the Arch-Duke to be told, that unless he accepted the Offer he made him, he would in eight Days be gone; and that he was not yet so to seek, but he knew very well where to go. the Arch-Duke was then forc'd to let him have his Will; but seeing it was much against the Arch-Duke's, it shew'd the Prince what Inconveniences attend a Man's forsaking his own Country, and going into a Foreign Court, especially, when a Man is look'd upon as a Rebel, and is oblig'd to buy his Protection, whatever the Price be, he must pay for it.

He had the same dispute with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who liv'd for the most part at *Bruxells*; and many times, 'twas thought, they wou'd come to Blows; but 'twas hinder'd by their Friends, without undertaking to decide the Difference about eithers Pretentions; for the Duke of *Lorrain* wou'd not endure any Competition, and the Prince of *Condé* cou'd not hear of giving place, without falling into great Passion; but that which gave him the greatest Distaste in that Court, was, that Prince *Francis*, the Duke's Brother, did

did likewise dispute Precedency with him; which caus'd such Heats, as were not like to end without Fighting: That which most anger'd the Prince of *Condé* was, that the Arch-Duke wou'd not regulate the business, tho' the Prince pray'd him to do it, confiding in the Justice of his Cause. The Arch-Duke had a mind to mortify the Prince of *Condé*, and would not disoblige Prince *Francis*, whom he resolv'd to keep still with him; especially at that time when he fear'd he wou'd be gone into *France*, where many endeavours were us'd to gain him.

See what unexpected Displeasures Men meet with, when they put themselves into the Service of a Foreign Prince; but 'tis otherwise, when a Man stays in his own Country, where the Place due to his Quality, is not only regulated; but it is also the Sovereign's Interest, to do nothing to the prejudice of a Prince of his Blood. 'Tis but just a Man should do Pennance for his Faults, because it brings him again to himself, and there is nothing which makes us wiser, than those Mortifications which we did not expect; they that have the Wind still with them, run the hazard of never knowing themselves.

The Prince having quitted his party, *your Majesty* thought rather of pacifying your Kingdom, than of driving the Enemy from the Frontiers, which you flatter'd your self might be easily done, when it was at Peace within it self: The Province of *Guyenne* was still in Arms for the Prince of *Condé*; the Prince of *Conti* was in *Bordeaux*, where, as a Prince of the Blood, he was so considerable, as to draw many to take part with

with him in his Disobedience ; the Count d' *Ognon* was in *Brouage*, where ill Example made him play the Tyrant. Great Forces were requir'd to reduce those People, because of their Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, from whom they receiv'd Assistance : But *your Majesty* considering it wou'd be easier to gain them by fair means, you made the one *Mareschal of France*, upon Condition, he deliver'd up the Place he kept in to *your Majesty's* Hands ; and granted the other very considerable Terms, if he wou'd quit his Brother's Party.

Your Majesty who had found a way to make Cardinal *Mazarin* return, and to settle Peace in *Paris*, where you had again fixt the Parliament in its usual Seat. And having now no more Domestic Troubles to fear, you did not only raise Forces to secure your Frontiers ; but to raise your Reputation very much lessen'd abroad. You had lost all you had in *Catalonia*, your Affairs in *Italy*, were also in an ill Condition, those in *Flanders* not in a much better Case, and of so many Conquests, which I have already mention'd, no more remain'd to *your Majesty*, but *Arras in Campagn* ; the Enemy kept *St. Menchout*, *Mouzon* and *Rhetel* ; upon the Frontier of *Picardie*, *Le Catelet* and *Capelle* ; in *Bourgundy*, *Bellegard*, wherein were the remains of the Prince of *Conde's* Faction. Here was work enough for a young Prince, who had not yet the experience of Riper Years ; but *your Majesty* having prudently begun with that which seem'd to be of greatest Consequence ; you besieg'd *Bellegard* and became Master of it, having thereby
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cut off the Head of the Rebellion. You hardly knew what to do next, so much were you press'd on all sides: The Prince of *Condé* was enter'd into *Picardy* where he had taken *Roye*; the Arch-Duke threaten'd *Campagn*, these two Places were of like Importance to you; but you cou'd not remedy all at once, the Forces of your Kingdom were exhausted; so that your Majesty was oblig'd to do things by degrees, one after another. You march'd to the Relief of *Picardy*, made the Enemy quit *Roy*; and afterwards, besieg'd *Rbetel*, which being taken, you made your self Master of *Mouzon*: In the mean time the Enemy possess'd themselves of *Rocroy*; for which you were reveng'd, by reducing *St. Menebout* to your Obedience.

Your Arms in *Catalonia* began to be dreaded; you took there several strong Places, and you had taken the Town of *Gironne*, had it not been for a Miracle wrought by Heav'n, in favour of your Enemies: They plac'd on the Rampart a little Cabinet, wherein were the Reliques of a holy Bishop of that City; and presently there appear'd such an infinite number of *Flies*, which fell upon your Army, that all your Cavalry was astonish'd at it. The Horses, not being able to abide it, broke their Bridles, and run cross the Fields, they roll'd themselves in the Mire to get rid of the Flies, and many perish'd; so that seeing the Enemy was ready to make use of the Advantage they had by so favourable an Accident, it was thought fit to raise the Siege.

In *Italy*, you carry'd the War into *Milanex*, where the Count *de Grancé*, whom you had made

a Mareſchal of *France*, took *Carpignan*, and beat the Marquels *Caracene*, whom the King of *Spain* ſent againſt him.

You were now oblig'd to acknowledge the Government of *England*, tho' at the ſame time, your Kindneſs and Juſtice, led you to protect him who was the lawful Prince thereof: But the *Spaniards*, who ſought to make an Advantage of your Averſion to *Cromwell's* Uſurpation and were treating with him to your Prejudice; you had recourſe to the only means left you, to ſecure your ſelf againſt the Miſchief they intended you. You offer'd him your Mediation to accomodate the differences amicably, which were then between *England* and *Holland*, of which you were very willing to ſee an End, becauſe they might have proved very much to your Enemies Advantage.

This was a great deal for a State which had been ſo Sick, to be free from Convulſions which had like to have brought it to its Grave: But as in long Sickneſſes there are often Relapſes, Count *Harcourt*, whom your *Majeſty* had made uſe of to reduce the Rebels to their Duty, became one himſelf. He found a way to get into *Briſac*, where the Garrifon being at his Devotion, he deſign'd to erect a Kind of Sovereignty in *Alſatia*, if he had been ſtrong enough to ſupport the Burthen. The *Spaniards* did all they cou'd to oblige him to put the Place into their Hands; but not offering enough to tempt him, he refus'd them, and thought of agreeing with the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had enough to pay him well; for there was not a Prince, who had ſo much ready Money

Money as he; but being an Idolater of it, he could not resolve to part with so much as Count *Harcourt* demanded; so that the Business hanging long in Suspence, it came at last to nothing, because the *Spaniards*, who distrusted him, caus'd him soon after to be arrested.

Your Majesty, to whom this Business appear'd to be of great importance, as indeed it was; sent often to and again to make him return to his Duty: But seeing he cou'd not come to any Resolution, you besieg'd *Beffort* to cut off all Relief which he might hope to have from that side; you made your self Master of it in the midst of Winter; for it is fit the *French* should learn to make War in any Season, they who under *your Majesty* ought to despise Heat and Cold, and to habituate themselves to either: This Conquest joyn'd to the very good Terms you offer'd Count *Harcourt*, prevail'd with him to accept 'em: You gave him the Government of *Anjou*, you let him enjoy all his Estate, and his Place of Grand *Ecuyerr*; he being to deliver up all he held in *Alsatia*.

This Business being thus over, and so well for *your Majesty*; you next thought of re-taking *Rocroy*, where the Garrison spoil'd all the Country round about it, under the Command of a Governour who was not a sleep, and had learnt his Trade under the Prince of *Condé*; I mean *Montall*, whom *your Majesty* hath so succesfully employ'd, and who did you great Service in the last War. But you believ'd the taking of *Stenay* was of much greater Advantage; and therefore you march'd your Army thither under the command
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of Mareſchal *Fabert* : This General was much to be valued for his great Fidelity to *your Maſteſty*, becauſe he was almoſt the only Man, among thoſe who were Governours of Places, who refus'd the Prince of *Condé*'s Offers, who did all he cou'd to debauch him out of your Service: But he reſolv'd not to follow the Example of others, and kept *Sedan*, which *your Maſteſty* put into his Hands.

The Prince to whom *Stenay* belong'd, deſir'd Forces from the Arch-Duke to relieve it. The Arch-Duke promis'd him, and indeed did all he cou'd to oblige Prince *Francis* to lend him his Troops : But becauſe this Place had been diſmembred from *Lorrain*, he would not but upon Condition it ſhould be re-united; to which the Prince would not yield, and this Buſineſs having increas'd the miſ-underſtanding that was between 'em, the Arch-Duke had much ado to keep 'em from coming to down right Blows. *Your Maſteſty* came in Perſon to the Siege, after you had been at *Reims*, where the Ceremonies of your Conſecration had been perform'd : *Your Maſteſty* was very liberal to your Souldiers, who all admir'd the Inclination they ſaw you had to War. While your Forces were before *Stenay*, the Prince of *Condé* prevail'd with the *Spaniards* to beſiege *Arras*; ſuppoſing, that becauſe this Place was of much greater conſequence to you, than the other, you wou'd raiſe the Siege of *Stenay* to relieve it. But they were deceiv'd in their expectation, it only made *your Maſteſty* the more diligent to take it, and you were no ſooner poſſeſt of it, but you made haſt to relieve *Arras*.

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The taking of *Arras* was of such importance to the *Spaniards*, that they neglected nothing to make themselves sure of it : Their Lines were the best that ever was seen, and at equal distances they had rais'd Redoubts, by which they were the more secur'd ; and not content with all this Precaution, they had made Holes in the Ground within, to stop the Cavalry : But the Siege began with an ill Omen ; for the Chevalier *Crequi* who had not yet any great Reputation for a Souldier ; but hath since so well behav'd himself, that *your Majesty*, after making him a Marechal of *France*, hath given him the Command of your best Armies ; threw himself into the Place, at the Head of Five Hundred Horse.

This Relief did *Montjeu* great Service, who commanded within, and who to spare his Purse, had but an indifferent Garrison : for in those Days, *your Majesty*, not being able your self to order your own Affairs, the Governors of Places appropriated to themselves the Contributions without rendering any Accompt to *your Majesty*, with which they undertook to defend the Place wherein they commanded ; which was very inconvenient, for instead of maintaining a good Garrison, they thought of nothing but heaping up Treasure ; this *your Majesty* cou'd not remedy ; but by changing this Custom, and putting things into the State they are at present. And indeed, as now your Safety is greater than it was before ; so you have taken away a Company of petty Tyrants, who as soon as they were put into the command of any place, thought themselves as great as *your Majesty*.

Montjeu,

Montjeu, who was a brave Man, held out near two Months, without letting the Enemy get much Ground upon him : in the mean time, your Army under the Command of Vicount *Turenne* appear'd in view of their Lines, and begun to intrench, because he fear'd they would come out and fight him, and that they being stronger than he, he might receive some Affront. It was the Prince of *Condé*'s Advice, that they should go out of their Lines, and fight *Turenne*, because, said he, they expect the coming of Mareschal *Hoquincourt*, with the Troops he commands, and then they will know how to talk with us. But the Arch-Duke maintain'd, that they cou'd not go out of their Lines, without quitting some Out-works which they had taken, and if they did not quit 'em, the Garrison would again beat them out of 'em, which was still the same thing ; and therefore they were better continue their Attacks, and endeavour to take the Town before *Hoquincourt* should arrive.

The Arch-duke's opinion was follow'd, because amongst the Officers that were in a Council of War, there was none but the Prince of *Condé*, who durst contradict him. This gave Vicount *Turenne* time, to put his Army into a condition not to be insulted, and to expect the coming of Mareschal *Hoquincourt* ; who as soon as he came, attack'd the Abby of *St. Eloi*, and carried it. He lodged there with his Army round about him, and acting in concert with Vicount *Turenne* who was on the other side of the Lines, they cut off the Enemies Provisions, and hinder'd

hinder'd all Convoys from coming into their Camp.

Montjeu seeing himself so near being reliev'd, felt his courage encrease; and having repuls'd the Besiegers in two Assaults they made upon one of his Outworks; they were in such consternation, that *Viscount Turenne* thought it a fit time to set upon them in that disorder. The Prince of *Condé* who foresaw they could make no resistance, said to the Archduke, That since he would not believe him at first, he hoped he would now; and seeing there was no more time to be lost, the only way they were to take in their present condition, was to raise the Siege and fall upon *Hoquincourt*, to whom *Turenne* could give no assistance. The Archduke seem'd well enough inclin'd to it, and fell into particular discourse of their Retreat; but having consulted *Count Fuensaldagne*, who past for a great Souldier among his Country-men, was by him wholly dissuaded from it.

St. Louis's day being come, which *Viscount Turenne* had chosen to make his Attack, he gave the Signal agreed on with *Mareschal Hoquincourt*; so that both having marched, *Viscount Turenne* forced the Lines in that part, which was guarded by *Fernando Solis*. But *Mareschal Hoquincourt* miss'd his way, which gave the Archduke time to think of Retreating; but *Viscount Turenne* following his blow, beat the *Lorrainers* in their Quarter, which was next to *Solis*. The Prince of *Condé* seeing the disorder, advanced to a little Rivulet, which separated his Quarter from the rest; and there making head

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against *Vicount Turenne*, and *Mareschal Hoquincourt*, who had now joyn'd him, he gave the Archduke and the Troops he had brought out of *France*, time to retreat in good order; his Infantry never the less suffer'd very much in their Retreat with the Prince, who was the last man, and which he managed with so much prudence, that the *Spaniards* admired him; among whom he got very great credit for so brave an action.

The Enemy's Cannon and Baggage fell into *Your Majesty's* hands. You went to the Cathedral Church of the City, and there gave God thanks for the Victory he had given you; for you still attributed all things to him like a good Christian, believing that your good conduct, or the force of your Arms could do nothing without his aid. The taking of *Quesnoi* was the fruit of this Victory, and therewith ended this prosperous Campaign.

Your Conquests were likewise increased in *Catalonia*, by the taking of *Villafranca* and *Puicerda*; from whence the Enemies continually made Inroads into *Roussillon*; but you did not make the same Progress in *Italy*, tho' you spared nothing on that side, to signalize the Glory of your Arms. For the Duke of *Guise* who had engaged you in great Expences, under pretence of his maintaining correspondence with *Naples*, and that he should no sooner appear but that whole Kingdom would rise; yet came back without taking any thing but *Castellamar*, which he was forced to quit.

This Enterprize however gave *Your Majesty's* Reputation, tho' the *Spaniards* endeavour'd to

that Country, to make people believe you were a Prince that could not easily get out of that confusion, into which the Civil Wars had cast you ; tho' you now scarce feel the effects of it, having put all things into so good order every where ; for it is not only on the Frontiers that you have establish'd your power ; but you have likewise done it in the heart of your Kingdom, where there remain'd but two things to be done, and which appear'd very pressing and absolutely necessary. The one was, so to settle again the Power and Authority of your Minister, that he might meet with no more such Strokes as had like to have tumbled him quite down. The other was, to punish those, who under pretence of being your Friends betray'd you.

You did the first, by marrying his Eminencies Nieces, to such great Lords, that the chief Persons in your Court, were engag'd to preserve him ; one of his Nieces was married to the Duke of *Merceaur*, and another to the Prince of *Conti*. This begot a great desire in the greatest and most Eminent Men about you, to court the other, who were not yet old enough to be Married, and who might pretend to any thing, after their other two Sisters had gotten Husbands of such Quality.

As to the Punishment of those who had deceiv'd you, you made that Exemplary in the Person of Cardinal *de Retz* ; whom you caus'd to be Arrested ; but because the regard you had to his Character, would not permit you to punish him according to what your Justice requir'd, you therefore only resolv'd to take from him his

Arch-Bishoprick, which gave him by the Dignity of it, so much Power over the Clergy, as to be able to engage them in Factions prejudicial to your Service; you propos'd to him a Resignation of his Bishoprick into the Hands of the Pope, and that then he should have his Liberty. Monsieur *Bellevue* first President of the Parliament, who was sent to him to let him know *your Majesty's* Pleasure, was his Friend, but none to your Minister; so that instead of counselling him to accept of the Proposition; he advis'd him to the contrary; saying, he spoke to him as a Friend, and not as one sent from the Court.

Now seeing this Magistrate had the Reputation of being one of the Honestest Men in *France*, and a Judge of as great integrity, as hath been a long time in Parliament. It will not be impertinent to give *your Majesty* a Character of the Man; 'tis very true, that he was an Honest Man, and incapable of doing a base thing; however, I can say, *your Majesty* did your self no good when you prefer'd him; if he were a Vertuous Man, his Vertue was very Austere, and would never consider the necessitie of your State: He affected the Name of being a Man for the Publick Good, which kept him without any other consideration from acting conjunctly with *your Majesty*, for the Good of your Affairs: He was also of so high a Spirit, that if Cardinal *Mazarin* had sent for him, unless it were in *your Majesty's* Name, he would not come; and then if your self were not upon the Place to tell him what your Pleasure was, he would not stay; yea, such

such was his Pride, that he could not endure his Eminence should think, there was any difference between them.

But *your Majesty* should never put such froward untractable Men, at the Head of your Parliaments, which have already done enough to convince you, that you ought never to let them have a President, that will joyn with them to usurp upon your Authority. Nothing is of greater Consequence to your Kingdom ; and when there wants such a Head, you ought to prefer a Subject who will be a Curb to them. Your Parliament hath already Power enough not to covet more, and that which I have before said of them, relating to the War of *Paris*, is a sufficient Reason for you to set Bounds to their Power : But the Inclination you always had to reward your Servants, joyn'd with the necessity wherein you then were, made you take the first comer, who offer'd to repair his ill Fortune, who before had the Place, and whose extream Poverty you could not see without blushing, being not then in a Condition to help him ; so that you permitted this Magistrate to treat with his Predecessor, which nothing but the Misery of the times could excuse : For I can assure *your Majesty*, it may occasion many Inconveniences, as your self will confess, when you consider, that they who arrive to Places of Honour, for which they think they have no Obligation to their Master, are never so submissive to him, as they are, who for the Places they hold, depend solely on him.

The Cardinal *de Rets* took his Friend's Ad-

vice, because there is nothing so grievous to a Man, as the loss of his Liberty, he thought to procure his, by feigning to hearken to what was proposed: He sent *your Majesty* word, he was ready to sign a blank Resignation, but when that was done, since the Price offer'd for it, was what depended only upon the Cardinal, whom he could not trust; he would be glad to know before hand, what assurance you would give him he should have his Liberty. Your Majesty, who acted with great sincerity, but would not be trick'd; gave him to understand, that you left it to his choice, to take such Measures as he best lik'd; and that you would be contented, provided you might be secure: So that now the matter being left to him to resolve, he agreed with *your Majesty*, that if you would let him out of *Vincennes*, he would remain under the Guard of Mareschal *Meilleray*, who had marry'd one of his Relations, till the Pope had accepted his Resignation.

He was conducted to *Nantes*, where the Mareschal was, whose Vigilance he design'd to deceive, because he well knew, that the Pope, with whom he dealt underhand, to make him refuse that which the Cardinal seem'd to desire, would not fail to declare himself against *your Majesty*. The Mareschal, who was a good honest Man, and did not think the Cardinal a double Dealer, commanded that he should not be kept too close, but some Liberty should be allow'd him, so that the Guards let him go daily out upon a *Bastion*, and did not keep the Door by which he went to it; but he, who thought of nothing but escaping, got a Rope made of Silk,
of

of the heighth of the Bastion, and his Physician, who was with him, holding it, he let himself down by it, and got away upon a Horse, purposely brought thither. Some thought his Design was to go to *Paris*, there to foment new Disorders; but his Horse falling on the Pavement of *Nantes*, which is very bad, he fled to *Machcoul*, a Castle which belong'd to the Duke of *Rets*, his Brother.

Mareschal *Meilleray* prepar'd to go thither and besiege it; which made the Cardinal go thence to *Bellisle*. The Mareschal would likewise have follow'd him, if *your Majesty* would have given him leave; but one Reason of State why you would not permit him, was, because you fear'd that the Mareschal, who was very powerful in that Province, would not keep it for you; and that after your Endeavours to put things into good Order, you your self might be the occasion of new Disorders.

But seeing it had been a kind of braving *your Majesty*, to have stay'd in your Kingdom, after he had been so unhappy to incur your Indignation, he went into *Spain*, and from thence to *Rome*, from whence, *your Majesty* would not suffer him to return, till he had given you the Satisfaction you expected. Indeed, it concerns the Majesty of a great King, not to suffer a Subject to beard him, but to reduce him to his Duty; otherwise it would be an Example to others of dangerous consequence.

Your Majesty knowing that the *Spaniards* had not well recover'd their Rout at *Arras*, hasten'd to take the Field; where after having taken *Lan-*

drecis, *Condé* and *St. Guillaín*, the Arch-Duke was so allarm'd, that he thought every Moment you would attack him in *Bruxells*, the fear of it made him employ ten thousand *Peasants*, to make a kind of Fortification about it, and 'tis for *your Majesty's* Reputation Posterity should know it; because it cannot but take notice, that after the Arch-Duke had made you tremble in your Capital City of *Paris*, you should do the like by him in so short a time, and that you must be a great King to do such Miracles: But what I can say, is, That you forget nothing which is for the publick good of your Kingdom, and that then you knew as well how to Treat, as to make War.

It plainly appear'd in the Treaty you made with Prince *Francis*, whose Design you discover'd, by his letting the Lord *Inchequin* who manag'd all his Affairs, fall into your Hands at the Rout of *Arras*: For instead of thinking he was taken Prisoner by chance, you concluded it to be a premeditated Contrivance, which made you stand so stiff upon the Propositions that Lord then made. Who still pretended all that he said was from himself, without having any Order from the Prince his Master: But even from his Feign'd Story, your Majesty rightly judg'd necessity oblig'd him to treat with you, which shew'd you a prudent, and well advis'd Prince, seeing to conclude only from appearances, is the way to be deceiv'd in all a Man doth.

It were to be wish'd, *your Majesty* had been able to be present in all your Armies, as well as in that of *Flanders*; you then had seen with
your

your own Eyes, in what manner things went ; you might then have weigh'd all Enterprizes, before you gave your consent to their being put in execution ; but seeing your knowledge of Places, and your Enemies Forces were but imperfect, you met with a check in *Italy*, of which only Cardinal *Mazarin's* easiness can be accus'd.

He was so fast tyed to his own Country, notwithstanding all the Wealth and Honours he had heap'd in *France*, which ought to have made him forget it ; that he endeavour'd to get a Husband there, for the Sister of the Princess of *Conti*, and the Dutches of *Mercoeur*, but of all those that presented themselves, he lik'd none so well as the Duke of *Modena*. This Alliance the Cardinal represented so considerable to your Majesty, as if he had no other end, than drawing in this Prince to espouse your Interest ; so that he prevail'd with you, to give the Duke the command of your Army in that Country, jointly with Prince *Thomas* ; and these two Generals being joyn'd, broke the Marquess of *Caracene's* Measures, who design'd to surprize *Regio* ; which so rais'd their Courage, that they thought themselves in a condition to besiege *Pavie* : But they were forc'd to quit the Siege, which had very much less'n'd your Majesty's Glory, if that which happen'd elsewhere had not repair'd your Reputation ; for beside that which you did in *Flanders*, your Army in *Catalonia* did not only preserve its Conquests ; but enlarg'd 'em : For it seiz'd upon *Cap-daquiers*, and being enter'd into the *Campourda*, put all under Contribution home to *Gironne*.

The Fault whereof your Minister was guilty
in

in *Italy*, was not the only one of which his Ministry may be accus'd; he was very fond of a *Maxime*, which no body but himself approv'd, and which your Majesty suffer'd, because you had so much confidence in him; he employ'd in all your Affairs two Persons instead of one, which was always the Ground of perpetual jealousy between 'em, and which must necessarily produce very ill Effects: For two Men with equal Power and Authority, look upon one another as two Enemies, tho' they seem not to do it, and they will never let slip an Opportunity of doing one another an ill turn; they are never better pleas'd, than when one of them doth a Fault; and they commonly suborn People to procure each other's Ruine. To redress this, is very difficult; but 'tis absolutely necessary for the good of your Kingdom.

Your Majesty is far from liking this Maxim; you know, that the most perfect Government is, that which comes nearest to G O D's; and therefore you give absolute Power, to those that act under your Orders: 'Tis enough, that they render you an Account of what they do; but you do not put Persons in equal Ballance one with another, if you did, you should be sure to be but ill served; for if they that have Commission to do a thing, do it not with all the Authority of their Master, they are always ill obey'd: Beside, if two Persons have Power to command the same thing, one usually crosseth what the other undertakes; their differing in Opinion, produceth this Effect, as well as the Jealousie which is between 'em; so that we ought to conclude a State

is ill govern'd, where there are so many Masters. We likewise see, that Monarchical Government is counted the most perfect, and that the best Policy'd Republicks are those, where there is the least Confusion.

Whatever was the matter, this Disorder reign'd in your Revenue, and in your Armies; you know that in *Italy* there were two Generals; in *Flanders* likewise, Cardinal *Mazarin* was pleas'd this Year, to joyn two Men together, whose Humours and Inclinations, were quite contrary to one another's; I mean, Viscount *Turenne* and Mareschal *de la Ferté*, who could never agree, and who also had lately quarrel'd. The Mareschal took out of the Viscounts Hands a Prisoner, under pretence of exchanging him for one of his Men taken by the Enemy; but in truth it was to hang him, in revenge for a *Lorrainer* in your Majesty's Service, whom they had put to Death. The Mareschal had reason to do it, and no body can say the contrary; for otherwise, no *Lorrainer* would take Arms to serve you; but your Majesty will confess, that Viscount *Turenne* had just cause to complain of the Mareschal's abusing his Credulity, and tho' it concern'd your Service, yet there is no Pleasure in being made an Instrument to the bringing a Poor Man to the Gallows.

These two Generals, whose Army consisted of Thirty Thousand Men, resolving to imploy it in some glorious Enterprize, thought none greater than the besieging of *Valenciennes*, each took his Quarter opposite to one another: Your Majesty instead of expecting every Moment to receive
News

News of the Town's being taken, heard that *Don John of Austria* in the Arch-Duke's room, was marching with the Prince of *Condé* to relieve it. Viscount *Turenne*, who always us'd to be cautious and stand upon his Guard, was now in so good a Posture, that *Don John* to succeed in his Design, thought the best way, was to fall upon *Mareschal de la Ferté's* Quarter. *Turenne*, who spent a great deal upon Spyes, acquainted the *Mareschal* with it, and offer'd to send some Troops to help him to repulse the Enemy ; but his Jealousie would not let him accept the Offer, so that *Don John*, tho' he did not find him unprovided, yet he fell upon him with so much Advantage, that he defeated the *Mareschal*, and took him Prisoner: *Don John* would have gone on, and attack'd Viscount *Turenne's* Quarter; but he was ready to receive him in so good Order, that he saw he had to do with another gues Man than the *Mareschal*: *Turenne* retreated to *Quesnoy*, where he stay'd to expect those that fled, and kept so good a Countenance, that *Don John* durst not offer him Battel ; but thought it better to take the Town of *Condé*, which *Turenne* could not relieve ; but to repair that loss, he made himself Master of *Capelle*, which your Majesty had no opportunity to re-take, since you lost it.

Another, not so couragious as your Majesty, would have been very much troubled with the ill Success of this Siege, and would have vented his anger upon the Prisoner ; but you did not only appear unmov'd in this reverse of Fortune ; but took it upon your self to justifie the *Mareschal's*

chal's Conduct, whose Ransome you also pay'd; for you are always bountiful to them that serve you, and the greater their Misfortunes are, the more consideration you have for 'em.

You were not so ill treated by Fortune in *Italy* this Year, as you were the last: Your Army, commanded by the Dukes of *Mercœur* and *Modena*, took there the Town of *Valence*, in sight of the *Spanish* Troops, who durst not come to a Battel. In *Catalonia* you likewise maintain'd the Honour which your Arms had there acquir'd, so that the Lustre of your Crown, obscur'd that of *Spain*, and every one strove to be your Allye.

Indeed, you forgot nothing to make your self considerable, and the *Swiss*, your antient Allyes, falling out among themselves, you, by your Mediation, happily ended their Differences: For your Majesty knows, that nothing is to pass in *Europe*, without your taking notice of it; and that such great Princes as you, ought so to interpose their Authority, that no body may take Arms, without their consent.

You receiv'd into your Dominions the Queen of *Sweeden*, who had resign'd her Crown to her Cousin-German; she was extremely pleas'd with the Reception you gave her; but you were not so with her Proceedings; for in one of your Royal Houses, she caus'd one of her principal Officers to be assassinated, who it seems had displeas'd her; they who pretend to penetrate into secrets, believe there was some Mystery between them; and that the Gentleman's Indiscretion, was the cause of his Misfortune: Discourfes so much

much to the Dishonour of this Princess, with the little satisfaction you had in what had happen'd, put her upon parting sooner than she intended; she went to *Rome*, the place she had chosen for her Retreat, and there having abjur'd her Religion, she found, that there are a thousand Disgusts in a private Life, which People, who never tasted any before, would never have expected.

Your Majesty, about this time, was engag'd in so nice a Business, that you never met with the like, since you ascended the Throne.

I mean that of the *Jansenists*, a Sect so much the more dangerous, because it cover'd it self with the Cloak of Piety: It was condemn'd at *Rome*, and then you thought you were not to tolerate it in your Dominions; so that you would not permit those to stay, who would not subscribe to the Pope's Decree: But their Faction being strong, tho' they were out of your Kingdom, they kept intelligence with some in it; all *Paris* was full of their Books, and People ran so eagerly to read 'em, that they said, *Rome* was mistaken in condemning 'em: Their manner of Living, wrought much upon the People in their Favour; for they did nothing, in appearance, but what tended to Perfection; and all that could be objected against their Doctrine, was, that they made the Gates of Paradise too narrow: It was indeed dangerous to hear 'em; for their Words were perfect Honey to purify Souls, and those were hardly able to return from their Errours, whom they had once thrown into Despair: But *your Majesty* belie-

ving

ving you were not concern'd to enter into a thorough examination of such matters, kept close to the Pope's Decree, and order'd the Sorbonne to confute their Writings, which were Publick : They took great Pains to do it ; but some Doctors refusing to submit to the Opinion of others, conformable to what had been decreed at Rome, they were expell'd the Colledge, which was approved by your Majesty, because 'twas the only way to suppress the Schism, which was ready to break out.

Indeed, a Wise and Prudent King, ought to cut off the Current of all Innovations, especially in matters of Religion, whereof the Consequences are always greater than in other things ; unless it be done, there can be no safety either for Kingdoms, or Consciences ; and it would be in the Power of every false Zealot, to make a Religion according to his own Mode ; he would not fail of having Disciples, provided he carry'd things to extremity ; for the Mind of Man, is of that Temper, that at first sight, he finds himself taken with great Respect, for those things, which he thinks most perfect, without considering that when they are carry'd to so high a Pitch, they are far above the reach of Humane Frailty, to which there ought still some regard to be had.

Your Majesty, soon after, undertook the Siege of *Cambray* ; and tho' it were with your usual Prudence, and therefore might hope for good Success ; yet your Conduct was fort'd to give place to Fortune ; the Enterprize wholly depended upon Diligence, and Your Majesty made account

account your Lines should be perfected, before the Enemy, who was a pretty way off, should have notice of it; but the Prince of *Condé*, who unluckily took a review of his Troops, the Day after yours, encamp'd before the Place, and being on Horseback, when the News was brought him, he presently March'd, and so well took his time, that he pass'd through your Army, without being known; after which you were oblig'd to raise the Siege; but resolving to repair this Affront by some considerable enterprize, you besieg'd *Montmedi*. The Enemy's Army full of Pride for that which had happen'd to you at *Cambray*, flatter'd themselves, they could give you the like Check before *Montmedi*.

The Prince of *Condé*, who was their Hero, was pray'd to undertake the care of it; but Viscount *Turenne* who observ'd him, having march'd Night and Day, with a Party of the Troops which he commanded, and Mareschal *la Ferté*, whom you had charg'd with this Expedition, being in a good Posture, tho' his Lines were not yet finish'd: The Prince of *Condé* durst not undertake the Attack; so that you reduc'd this strong Place under your Obedience. Viscount *Turenne* went and rejoyn'd his Army, after the departure of the Prince of *Condé*, who, as great a Captain as he was, could not hinder *Turenne* from taking *St. Venant*.

When the Prince of *Condé* saw that; he with *Don John* of *Austria*, went and besieg'd *Ardres*, hoping, that Viscount *Turenne*, would either quit his Enterprize, or let him finish his, without giving him any Trouble: The Prince thought he should

should sooner do his Work than *Turenne* ; because *St. Venant* was defended by a good Garrison, and that there was scarce any body in *Ardres* : But Viscount *Turenne*, who knew that one of the best Qualities in a General, was not to lose a Moment of time, us'd such Diligence, that he oblig'd the Enemy to Capitulate two days sooner than the Prince of *Condé* imagin'd ; and presently march'd against the Prince ; who having notice of it, was half Mad ; for had he given the Prince but four Hours time more, he had made himself Master of *Ardres* : being just ready to spring a Mine, which had done all that he could desire, and then there was no appearance the Governour could have held out longer ; but he knowing he was so near being reliev'd, refus'd to hearken to any Capitulation. The Prince, not being so strong as *Turenne*, resolv'd to raise the Siege, which was no little Honour to the Viscount, whose Diligence had made the Prince fail both of relieving *Montmedi*, and of taking *Ardres*.

Not to lose any time, is so necessary a Quality in a General, that without it, no Man can ever hope to be a good Captain : For in War, some times All depends upon an Instant, and he that knows not how to make use of it, doth not deserve any great Esteem.

Turenne did not yet end his Campagne, he likewise took *La Motte au Bois*, and many other Forts upon the Canal of *Bourbourg*, after which he made himself Master of *Mardik*.

That which pass'd in *Catalonia*, would not deserve to be told, were it not convenient it should

be known, that the Reason why *your Majesty* made no more Conquests there, was, because you thought it enough, to keep those you had already. The Country which is divided from *Roussillon* and *Cerdaigne*, by a Chain of Mountains of a prodigious Heighth, and whose Avenues are so narrow, that two Men can hardly pass in Front, seems to be made for another Sovereign, and it would be to force Nature, to unite them under one Government; so that *your Majesty*, contenting your self with the Bounds, which God seem'd to have set between your Kingdom, and that of the King of *Spain*, you resolv'd not to enter into his, but only to let him see, you had Troops sufficient to guard your own; so that all which afterward pass'd, was only some light Skirmishes, (which caus'd little alteration) till a Peace was concluded.

The Prince of *Conti*, who commanded in this Country the last Year, seeing there was now little Honour to be gotten by him there, pray'd *your Majesty's* leave, to go and supply the Place of Prince *Thomas*, who was dead: You granted his Request; but it had been much better for his Reputation, to have stay'd in *Roussillon*, than to go into *Italy*, and be forc'd to raise the Siege of *Alexandria de la Paille*, which he had joyntly undertaken with the Duke of *Modena*.

If *your Majesty* would know, why you met with more ill turns of Fortune in that Country, than in any other; 'tis easie to give *your Majesty* a Reason for it. The *Spaniards* look upon the *Milanez* of very great Consequence to them, the loss of which, would certainly draw after it
other

other Places they possess in that Country ; so that whenever they are attack'd, they use all imaginable means to relieve them : Beside, the Princes of *Italy* do not ordinarily Pray for you, when your Armies come amongst 'em : They are very well pleas'd with your Protection, but do not care for your Neighbourhood. It is enough for *your Majesty* to have a Door open to help 'em in time of need, and if you suffer no body, especially *Spain*, to meddle with 'em, you shall still be in great Reputation among 'em : All then, which I think you ought to do in that Country, is to continue the Alliance which you have with the Duke of *Savoy* ; with whom, a good Correspondence is not only necessary for the keeping of *Cazall* ; but likewise of *Pignerol* : That of other Princes is of no use to you, but may prove prejudicial, by making others believe, you have great Designs upon their Liberty ; and therefore may put them upon entring into a Confederacy against you. I know, that at this time *your Majesty* is in so great Reputation, that a League of the Princes of *Italy* against you, would turn to their Confusion, if it were not supported by the Forces of all *Europe*. But *your Majesty* must take heed, the *Italian* Princes do not serve for Trumpets to other Potentates, who are Jealous enough of your Majesty, and would readily joyn to interrupt your Prosperity. Beside, you must do all you can, to avoid allarming the *Swiss*, of whom you have more need than you Imagin ; for should they recall the Troops they lend you, it would deprive you of a Strength you cannot spare : To which I may add,

that in such a Revolution, the Duke of *Savoy* may leave you, and then by his Defection, your Frontiers, which are not fortify'd on that side, will suffer very much.

I know very well, that when a Prince resolves to make War, he ought not only to think, by what means he may succeed; but also, what is like to be the Sequel and End of it. I consequently know, that the Princes of *Italy*, are too well advis'd, to declare themselves against *your Majesty*, from whom only they can hope for help, when they are oppress'd, and against whom they cannot arm any other Potentates; but those of whom they ought to be extremely jealous: To which Branch soever of the House of *Austria* they address themselves, they have reason to fear it; for that of *Germany*, pretends they are Feudatories of the Empire, of which the Emperor holds the Reins, and consequently ought to command them. That of *Spain*, hath upon 'em the right of Convenience, which is as good a Title as any other; so that to which side soever they turn, they will find it much safer for 'em to maintain Friendship with *your Majesty*, than to address elsewhere; but then *your Majesty* ought to perform your Part, because, when People see themselves neglected, their Resentment of it will not alway permit them to Reflect on what they should do; and the Desire of being reveng'd, is sometimes so deeply rooted in their Hearts, that they will buy Vengeance at any Rate.

Amidst so many important Affairs, which *your Majesty* had on all sides, your Mind was never

ver the less set, upon all that might procure the ease and quiet of your Subjects ; there was not a Year pass'd, wherein you did not publish some good Laws ; among which, I cannot forget that excellent Edict, which did forbid all Pages and Footmen to wear Swords. You commanded that it should be so exactly observ'd, that those Disorders which before daily happen'd, begun to cease ; your People were also very much oblig'd to *your Majesty*, for delivering them from the troublesom Importunitys of Beggars, of whom Idleness, for the most part, made so great a Multitude, (who would rather beg than work ;) that no body in any place could be quiet for 'em, the Streets were full of 'em, as well as the Churches, where People could not say their Prayers, without being every Moment interrupted by 'em. You commanded, that they should be shut up in the Hospital General ; your Edict concerning it, made the Deaf to hear, the Dumb to speak, and the Lamé to walk ; this Law wrought more Miracles, than ever were seen done at one time under the Gospel ; it was an intolerable Abuse, to see so many Idle People lying in all Passages upon Bundles of Straw, with Limbs, to appearance, Distorted and out of Joynt, to move Compassion ; yet, when they were to be shut up, were all Sound and Streight, and could work as well as others.

The League, which *your Majesty* made with the *English*, procur'd you the Year following the Service of their Ships, to besiege *Dunkirk*, which you invested both by Sea and Land : *Don John of Austria* and the Prince of *Conc'é* came to

relieve it ; their Army had in it a new Rebell, upon whom *your Majesty* had heap'd many Favours ; but he cover'd his Ingratitude and Breach of Faith, with pretending he had cause to complain against your Minister ; it was Mareschal *Hoquincourt* ; he endeavour'd to make the Town of *Peronne*, whereof he was Governour, to declare for that Party, into which he had thrown himself ; but the Fidelity of his Son, and of the Inhabitants, kept the Place for *your Majesty*.

The Importance of *Dunkirk*, oblig'd the Enemy to hazard all, rather than suffer it to be lost ; so that being come to view the Lines, Viscount *Turenne* went out, and gave them Battel : Your Troops answer'd the hope you had conceiv'd of their Courage, and having beaten the Enemy's Army, the Town Render'd it self to your General ; you came your self thither, to put it into the Hands of the *English*, who, according to the Treaty made with them, were to have it ; which you were necessitated to do, to keep them from joyning with your Enemies ; but it was a vexation to you, to see so fine and considerable a Town, fall into any other Hands but your own : You contented your self with requiring a Condition to be made good, which was very advantageous to the Catholicks, they being thereby allow'd to enjoy their Liberty of Conscience, contrary to the practice of the *English* in their own Country ; but the necessity which oblig'd you to give them the Possession of the Town, oblig'd them likewise to yield to so just a Demand.

The Defeat of the Enemy before *Dunkirk*, open'd to you a Door to greater Conquests ;

Gravelin

Gravelin, Bergues, Furnes, Dixmude, Menim, Oudenard, Ypres, and some other Places, fell under your Dominion; for which Success, your Peoples Joy had been much greater, had it not been lessen'd by the fear of losing you; for it was about this time, you were so sick at *Calais*, that it was believ'd you could not recover. Great was the Grief of your Court and Army, every one was in such a Consternation as cannot be exprest; you only appear'd every Day the same, endeavouring to Comfort the Queen your Mother, and the Cardinal, who stood despairing at your Bed's side. You were at last given over by all your Physicians, so that the last Remedy thought of, was to give you a Vomit, which, tho not then in use, was ordered by a Man, expressly sent for from *Abbeville*, upon the Reputation he had, for having done many great Cures: You were thought to be so near lost, that there were two or three of your Courtiers, who complemented Monsieur your Brother, upon his being in so fair a way to succeed you: Indeed the Curtains of your Bed were drawn, and it was believ'd, you were so near dead, that your Almoners were ready to begin the *De Profundis*: But at that very Instant, you gave some Signs of Life; so that People seeing they were mistaken, they gave you the Vomit, which you would not take, till you had ask'd Cardinal *Mazarin*, whether he thought it wou'd cure You.

He told you, he hop'd it might; which so encourag'd you, that you drank it all at a Draught, and without making any Face: You had that

day a hopeful *Crisis*, and People begun to perceive some Change, which made the Man, in whose Hands you were, give you another Dose, which perfected the Cure. *Your Majesty's* Youth contributed very much to it, as it doth in all kinds of Diseases, you so perfectly recover'd your Health, that a Month after, it could not be perceiv'd that you had been Sick.

The Loss which your People fear'd of *your Majesty's* sacred Person, made the Queen your Mother, Earnestly desire to Marry you. The Queen's Inclination, as well as your own, was to the Infanta of *Spain*, which Alliance had produc'd a general Peace, and also given *your Majesty* a Princess of exemplary Vertue, whose Beauty was not to be despis'd. But the *Spaniards*, who fear'd this Match might one day bring them under your Dominion, because she was the presumptive Heir of their Kingdom, shew'd such an horrible Aversion to it, that you were oblig'd to cast your Eyes on the Princess of *Savoy*. *Your Majesty* went to *Lions* to see her, and conclude the Business. The Dutches of *Savoy* came with her Daughter to meet you, and you were so well pleas'd with the young Princess, that the Dutches her Mother was over-joy'd, thinking she could never expect a greater Happiness: All your Courtiers likewise believing it was a done business, begun to look on the Princess, as she that was to be their Queen. But the *Spaniards*, foreseeing that if this happen'd, all *Flanders* would fall under *your Majesty's* Power, and after that you would force them to restore *Navarre*, which they

they unjustly kept from you, they sent *Pimentel* to *Lions*, with Power to break this Marriage, and propose that of the Infanta.

Your Majesty acquainted the young Princess with this Proposal, and withal told her, that the Inclination you had for her, made you less sensible of this News, than you should have been at another time. But these Words, how sincere soever they were, not being able to comfort her, she return'd to *Turin*, very much afflicted for missing such a Fortune.

Monsieur *de Lionne* having personally conferr'd with *Pimentel*, made a rough Draught of the Treaty of Peace, of which Cardinal *Mazarin* would have all the Honour: He went to the Frontier of *Spain*, where his Catholick Majesty on his Part, sent *Don Lewis de Haro*, his prime Minister; their Conferences were held in the Island of *Pheasants*, upon the River *Bidassoa*, which separates *your Majesty's* Dominions from the King of *Spain's*; and there having agreed all that *de Lionne* and *Pimentel* had left to be done; *your Majesty* sent Marechal *de Grammont* to *Madrid*, to demand the Infanta of her Father; which Ceremony being over, with all others that were to precede the Marriage, you came to *Bayonne*, with a Magnificent and Splendid Court, after having punish'd the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*, who took a very ill time to rebel, when you were so near having a Peace; *your Majesty* there espous'd the Infanta, and pardon'd the Prince of *Condé*, to whom you restor'd all the Places and Governments which he had before his Rebellion. The greatest part of your
Conquests

Conquests you still kept by this Treaty; but you were to restore all *Lorraine*, excepting only a High-Way, which was to remain to you in Sovereignty, to go into *Alsatia*; and the Dutchy of *Bar*; which was still to continue under *your Majesty's* Subjection.

As to the *Spaniards* Fear, whereof I have already spoken, *your Majesty*, in that Particular, gave them all the Satisfaction they could desire; you renounc'd your Succession to *Spain*, in express Terms, and with all the Clauses that Crown requir'd; so that having given your Subjects Peace, after so long a War, you thought of nothing but of letting them enjoy it, and of enjoying it your self.

C H A P. III.

Containing what past since the Treaty of the Pyrenes, to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

BEfore *your Majesty* came back to *Paris*, you stay'd a while at *Fountainbleau*, to give the Inhabitants of that great City, time to prepare for your Reception. The Entry they made for you, was so Stately and Magnificent, that in the Memory of Man, never was any thing seen like it: *Your Majesty* stopp'd, when you came into the Suburb of *St. Antoin*, where was erected so glorious a Throne, that it was fit only for you, and the Queen your Wife; you there receiv'd the Compliments of the Supream Courts, and of the whole

whole Body of the City ; after which you went to the *Louvre*, preceded by your Nobility, and in the midst of so great a Concourse of People, that it look'd as if all *France* had come together to admire *your Majesty*.

Amidst so many things, wherewith *your Majesty* could not chuse but be very well pleas'd, you apply'd your self, as you us'd to do, to the Government of your Kingdom, and taking care of your Allyes, as well as of your own People ; you pacified a great Difference which had happen'd between the two Northern Crowns, and which had produc'd a cruel War. All *Europe* was likewise ready to be engag'd in it ; so true is it, that a little Spark will kindle a great Fire : But you, by your Prudence having quench'd the Flame, found your self daily in a better Condition to enjoy the Repose, which by your Vertue you had acquir'd.

I had not yet the Honour to be known by *your Majesty*, tho' upon the Death of Monsieur Roy, chief under Secretary to Monsieur Tellier, Secretary of State for the War, I was by him put into Monsieur Roy's Place, to keep it for Monsieur Villacerf, a Relation of his and mine, who was not then of Age to execute it ; after which, I enter'd into the Service of Cardinal Mazarin ; when I was with him, I had the Honour to speak to *your Majesty* ; but it being only as you were passing by, and to answer some Questions you ask'd me, it might perhaps have been a long time before I had been known to you, if the Cardinal, who found himself daily dying, had not recommended me to *your Majesty*, as a Man,
who

who very well understood your Revenue, and was able to discover their Frauds who had the Administration of it.

Two Things made him say this Good of me to *your Majesty*; the one was, The Abuses which were really committed by those who manag'd your Revenue. The other was, The good Order into which I had brought his own Affairs, which he had trusted to my Care. I know not whether I may not put two other Things into the Account; the one was, The Hatred he bore to Monsieur *Fouquet*, Superintendant of the * *Finances*, with whom he had some Words a few Days before, and who was a very proud Man, because he had been the Parliaments Attorney General. The other was, because the Cardinal saw himself on the Brink of his Grave, which made him think of quitting the World, and all its Grandeurs. Whatever it were, it was *your Majesty's* Pleasure to have some private Conference with me, wherein I was so Happy, to give *your Majesty* Satisfaction: *Your Majesty* then commanded me to draw you up some large Memoirs of that, wherewith I had the Honour to entertain you; which I did the next Day, and with which *your Majesty* seem'd very well pleas'd.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorrain*, who complain'd he had been sacrific'd in the late Treaty, came to *Paris*, where he us'd all possible Endeavours, to have the Treaty alter'd, in those Articles which concern'd him: But after all that he had done in your Father's Life time, and in your Reign; for which he had his Country

* *Finances* signifie
all Taxes and Du-
ties whatever paid
to the King to make
up his Revenue.

try taken from him ; there was little appearance he would succeed. Indeed *your Majesty* judg'd with a great deal of Reason, by what had past ; it was not safe to take his Word for the future ; so that you rejected all he propos'd, and signify'd to him, he must rest satisfy'd with what had been done. When he saw this, he apply'd himself to the Cardinal's weak side, and propos'd to him a Marriage of one of his Neices, either with himself, or with Prince *Charles*, his Nephew, feigning he was not yet fully resolv'd, whether he should Marry again or no ; for the Dutches of *Nicolle* was then Dead, and his Marriage now would be much firmer, and more legitimate, than that was, which during her Life, he had made with the Princess *de Cantecroix*. The Proposition was so much to your Minister's Advantage, that it made him forget *your Majesty's* Interest ; wherein he was very much to be blam'd, because he, upon whom a Prince relies in all his Affairs, ought to prefer them, before all that can be propos'd, for his own particular Benefit. I have lately in my own Case, put this Rule in practice ; for a very good Match being offer'd to me for my eldest Son, it did not move, or at all tempt me, because it consisted not with *your Majesty's* Service.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, knowing that by his Address, he had put his Business into a fair way, feigns himself in Love ; because he found the Cardinal had more mind his Niece should Marry him, than his Nephew ; for he thought thereby to gain time, and to put in practice some new Invention : To this piece of Dissimulation, he
adds

adds another, to deferr the propos'd Marriage : He pretended he was Sick; but this feigned Sickness, did not hinder him from pursuing the Success of his Business; he engag'd the Duke of *Guise* in it, deceiving him first; so that he very faithfully promoted the Duke of *Lorraine's* Interest.

The Duke of *Guise*, who indeed was a Prince of great Sincerity, and whose great and generous Soul would never have suffer'd him to be instrumental in deceiving any body; this Duke, I say, believing the Duke of *Lorraine* to be a Man of his Word, acted for him with as much Zeal, as he could expect from so noble a Prince; and the Cardinal knowing him to be a Man, upon whose Honour and Faith he might rely, put so much Confidence in him, that he sign'd a Treaty in *your Majesty's* Name, much more to the Duke of *Lorraine's* Advantage, than that which past in the Isle of *Pheasants*. The Cardinal now expected his Niece should be Dutches of *Lorraine*, either by being marry'd to the Duke himself, or to his Nephew Prince *Charles*: But the Duke, who glory'd in never performing any thing he promis'd, and having obtain'd all that he could desire, disclaims what was promis'd by the Duke of *Guise*, which was, that he should Marry the Cardinal's Niece presently after the Signing of the Treaty.

It may, perhaps, be thought Strange, that this Cardinal, who was so very cunning, did not cause the Treaty to be ratify'd by the Duke of *Lorraine*, before the performance of that which the Duke of *Guise* promis'd in his behalf. But the

the Reason was, because your Minister would not have *your Majesty* know, what was the Price the Duke of *Lorraine* was to pay for this new Treaty, which was so much in his Favour : So that for being too Crafty, the Cardinal was deceiv'd ; which teacheth us, that there is no trusting Men of a certain Character, and that too much Cunning sometimes doth Men more Harm, than less would do.

There was Reason to think, that the Cardinal, who was an *Italian*, and consequently loving Revenge, as all that Nation do, would never pardon the Duke of *Lorraine* ; and in the Post the Cardinal was, it was almost impossible, but he should meet with a very fit Opportunity of being reveng'd. But having now taken his Bed, he was to think of Things of much greater Consequence ; which was, to render an Account to God. It was his Custom, to make every one pay him, and he to pay no body : The Account he was to make up with Heaven so much perplexed him, that he fell into great Convulsions ; but believing, in the Condition he was, he should hazard nothing if he told the Truth, he confess'd he had robb'd *your Majesty*, and your People. Mr. *Joly*, Curate of St. *Nicholas* in the Fields, who was his Confessor, told him he could not give him Absolution, unless he made Restitution ; which, as Rich as he was, was more than he could do ; and beside, he lov'd his Wealth so well, that he could not find in his Heart to part with it. He had run a Risque of dying, without being absolv'd, if *your Majesty* had not had the Goodness to make a Gift to him of all he had
taken

taken from you. Mr. *Joly* satisfy'd himself with the Declaration *your Majesty* made to that purpose, which so quieted the Cardinal's Conscience, that he dy'd much more peaceably than he would have done without it.

Your Majesty, that very Night, came into your Closet; where you ask'd me, whether the Cardinal had not hid some Effects, and the Place where I thought they might be: I told *your Majesty* all I knew, and you seiz'd upon what was of great value; but yet left a great deal to his Niece *Hortensia*, whom he made his Heir, upon Condition, that her Husband should bear the Name and Arms of *Mazarin*; which gave great distast to all the Princes of the Blood; but *your Majesty*, who was alway very kind to him, continued it after his Death; for you would let no body touch any thing of that which he left to his Niece.

All *France*, now fix'd their Eyes upon *your Majesty*, to observe how you would behave your self, being, upon the Cardinal's Death, left to your own Conduct: For tho' by what you had done before, it appear'd by a thousand Things, you wou'd one Day be a Great King; yet the ill Education you had had, with your having been alway, if I may so say, under the Ferule of that Minister, made People doubt, whether you had been guided by your own Discretion, or by his Dictates. Beside, as the Vacuity of our Nation, doth not incline us to have any great esteem for that which looks Heavy and Dull; there were a great many who found fault with your looking so Grave and Serious

ous in all your Actions ; they could not believe that a Prince of your Age, could be so Wise ; especially in a Court where there were so many weak Heads, who without making the least Reflexion, said all that they thought.

But I made a contrary Judgment of *your Majesty*, by the first Conference I had the Honour to have with you ; you weigh'd all things so well, that I was perswaded, the Advantages of a good natural Disposition, very much prevail over an ill Education. It was not long e're all your Subjects were of my Opinion ; especially when they saw you knew so well how to Act the King. You obliged them to pay as much Respect to you, as they had taken Liberty, under your Minister Cardinal *Mazarin* ; the just Answers, and so much to the purpose, which you gave to those Ambassadors that resided in your Court, begot a great Opinion of your Wisdom ; so that in a little time, Foreigners, as well as the *French*, were undeceiv'd, in some Discourses that had pass'd to your Prejudice. The least appearances are enough to make People speak ill of a Prince upon the Throne ; but a Multitude of Events, and considerable Actions full of prudent Conduct, are requir'd to give him Reputation ; which teacheth Princes, that they ought always to do Good, when Occasion requires it. Every one hath his Eyes upon 'em to give them their due, according to their Actions, whether Good or Bad.

But *your Majesty* had nothing to fear upon that Account : I can bear Witness to Posterity, that you did an Action, worthy of immortal

H

Glory.

Glory. As I have already said, you were educated among Women, and you fell in Love with the Eldest of Cardinal *Mazarin's* four Nieces, then at Court ; you lov'd her so desperately, that they, who had not the Honour to know you, believ'd your Passion would make you forget your Duty to your self. This Niece, fomented your Passion cunningly enough ; and every day, more and more to enflame you, us'd those Arts, which crafty Women practise, who are proud of their Conquests. But *your Majesty*, instead of running into the Snares she laid for you, consented she should be Marry'd ; and saw her part, notwithstanding all her tender Reproches, and tho' your own Heart told you, you were cruel to your self, in resolving not to enjoy, (in the Condition you then were,) the sweetest of all the Pleasures of this Life.

This Victory over your self, was follow'd by another relating to the same Person : The Pleasures which she had tasted at Court, and perhaps also, the Remembrance of *your Majesty*, which she could not blot out of her Mind, having made her not live so very well with her Husband, she quickly return'd into *France*. Many believ'd, that she had great Hopes, that the Fire which had been so quick and ardent, would be easily rekindled : She was therefore returning to Court, with full Sailes ; but *your Majesty*, having Notice of it, sent a Courier to tell her, she must retire into a Monastery. I know very well, Sir, I have antedated the time when this pass ; and to do things in order, I should not have spoken of this, in this Place ;
but

but the connexion which is between this Circumstance, and the other I have mention'd, would not suffer me any longer to forbear speaking of it ; I do not undertake to write your History in due Method therefore this Transposition may be pardon'd.

Your Majesty, having no confidence in the inconstant and unquiet Humour of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and fearing he might enter into Cabals, which might be to your prejudice; you design'd to Marry his Nephew, Prince *Charles*, who was right Heir to the Dukedom of *Lorraine* and *Bar*, to some Person in *France* : His Father, who stay'd in *Paris*, was ravish'd that *your Majesty* had so good Intentions for his Son, whose Uncle, without you, could never be brought to do him right. He propos'd to you his Son's Marrying Mademoiselle *Montpensier*, and *your Majesty* consented to it, because it was indifferent to you, what Lady he chose, provided he put it out of the Duke of *Lorraine's* Power, to do you any mischief. Mademoiselle, who had willingly hearkend to the Proposal that had been made her of the Duke d' *Anguien*, who was then but a Boy ; was much more pleas'd with this of a Handsom Prince, and of an Age more suitable to hers. She grew so much in Love with him, that she became jealous of her Sister, whom the Prince of *Lorraine* could have better lik'd, had she not been design'd by *your Majesty* for another; you had indeed promis'd her to the Duke of *Tuscany*, eldest Son to the Duke of *Florence* ; who not long after Married her. She, and the Prince of *Lorraine*, tho' both

knew they were not born for one another, could not refrain from being often together; and the Prince, growing daily more and more enamour'd of her, gave her a Picture which he had from Mademoiselle *Montpensier*. The Vanity which all Women have to boast of their Conquests, especially when they think they can vex a Rival, made her discover what the Prince had given her, tho' it concern'd her very much, to have kept the thing secret. *Your Majesty* did not like it, and she being to go so speedily into *Italy* to be married, it was not fit her Husband should suspect her guilty of any amorous Intrigue; but all those Reflections did not hinder her from making this false step. So true is it, that Youth, Prudence, and Love, very seldom keep Company. Mademoiselle *Montpensier* no sooner knew this, but she broke with Prince *Charles*; his Father, who was extreamly troubled that his Son should miss in all respects so considerable a Match, did what he could to bring the Business about again; but Mademoiselle, whose high Spirit, was answerable to the greatness of her Birth, despis'd all the Promises which were made to appease her.

Your Majesty would not force her, tho' you thought this Marriage necessary for the good of your State. In the mean time, Prince *Charles* having lost so good a Fortune by his own Fault; some body propos'd to him the Dutches of *Longueville*, newly become a Widow, and who was very Rich: Were it that the Prince could not forget the Dutches of *Tuscany*, or that the Widow had some Defects, he did so little relish the Proposition,

Proposition, that he could not make one Step towards her.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, who could not part with his Dukedom, was much troubled, that his Nephew should marry Mademoiselle *Montpensier* ; tho' it appear'd 'twas a thing to which he had given his consent : But knowing his aversion to the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, he preſs'd him to marry her, purpoſely to clear himſelf from the Suſpicion *your Maſteſty* had, of his playing a Thouſand Tricks to hinder the other Match with Madam *Montpensier* : But the more Pains he took to bring him to it, the further was Prince *Charles* from it ; yet he felt in himſelf an Inclination for Mademoiselle *Nemours* the Dutcheſs's deceas'd Husband's Niece, who had ſomewhat more than her Aunt to engage the Prince ; ſo that at laſt he became ſo entirely hers, that he quite forgot the Dutcheſs of *Tuſcany*. *Your Maſteſty*, being told of it by the Prince's Father, who at firſt did not approve of this Match, becauſe he valued Wealth more than Beauty ; *your Maſteſty* made him conſent to it, and there was no Queſtion of your making the Duke of *Lorrain* do the ſame : But the little diſpoſition he had to give him his Eſtate, made him make a thouſand Excuses ; which *your Maſteſty* finding very frivolous, and without any Foundation, you told the Duke, if he did not take a Reſolution conformable to your Will, and to Reaſon ; the thing ſhould be done, without conſulting him any further. This Declaration was like a Clap of Thunder to him, and believing it was impoſſible to prevail with *your Maſteſty* to

altar your Resolution ; he offer'd to declare you Heir to all his Dominions, if you would grant him the Honour of your Protection against his Nephew.

His Design in making this Proposition was to deceive *your Majesty*, and having cunningly insinuated, that his Nephews Right and Title to the Dukedoms of *Lorraine* and *Bar*, was not so firmly establish'd, but that he could dispute it with him ; and quoting some Precedents, to prove the *Salique-Law* was still in force in his two Dutchies ; *your Majesty* treated with him, and left the Prosecution of the Marriage with *Mademoiselle Nemours*, which wanted nothing but Consummation, all the Ceremonies having been perform'd by *Proxy*.

See how Interest sometimes works upon great Souls, as well as upon those of meaner Quality ; which yet is not so pardonable in them, because they ought to have more care of their Reputation, than of their Fortune, which is already great enough, not to purchase new Establishments, with the loss of their Honour. In controversies of Things dubious, let justice still carry the Cause, and let no man think to maintain a Title by force, which cannot support itself. That of which I am now speaking, was of this Nature, and it were to be wish'd, *your Majesty* had seriously consider'd it : You would then have seen, that this was only a Bait thrown out, the better to deceive you, and also that this Treaty contain'd some things in it, which render'd the Execution of it impossible, as I shall hereafter plainly shew *your Majesty*.

This

This Business, of which I have spoken all in a Breath, because I was engag'd in it, by mentioning *your Majesty's* Design to marry Mademoiselle *Montpensier* to Prince *Charles*, ought not (to do things in order) have been plac'd here; but the Excuse I made before, must serve me again, without making any other.

Your Majesty, having declar'd in all the Conferences I had with you, the great Desire you had to do something effectually toward the Reformation of your Kingdom; call'd for those Memoirs that had been drawn up in Cardinal *Richelieu's* time concerning it: The suddain Death of that Minister having prevented the doing of it himself: You found, in those Papers, many things, against which you had reason to object; because the time which had past since that Cardinal's Death, had chang'd the State of Affairs; and that which was good under his Ministry, was not so now: But *your Majesty* made choice of the Good, and left the Bad; wherein you shew'd so much Judgment, that I can never enough commend you.

You resolv'd to make the * *Partisans* render again what they had swallow'd; for, abusing your Minority, they had fill'd their own Coffers, by emptying yours. You intended to begin with their Master, who was, as you thought, most faulty; I mean the Superintendant of the *Finances*, whose Abuses I had discover'd to *your Majesty*, and who was himself so conscious, that to avoid the Punishment he deserv'd, he thought of saving himself by a greater Crime. To that

* *Farmers of
the King's Re-
venue.*

purpose, he had bought *Belle Isle* of the Family of *de Rets*, where he intended to stand upon his Guard against *your Majesty*, having by Pensions, made several Governours of Provinces, and Frontier Places, of his Party; of which a Draught was found amongst his Papers, when he was seiz'd; so that if Justice had been done upon him, he should have been brought to a Scaffold.

The Place which he had in Parliament, made *your Majesty* think it dangerous to prosecute him, till he had quitted it. You perswaded him to part with it, under pretence, that all the Affairs of State, being since the Death of the Cardinal in his Hands, his Place in Parliament would be now of little worth to him. *Fouquet* ran into the Trap, and having sold his Place to one of his Friends, you went into *Britany*, and there had him arrested. At the same time you seiz'd upon *Belle Isle*: The thing was executed in the same manner you projected it, and having appointed Commissioners to try him, you caus'd him to be prosecuted.

Monsieur Tellier was his capital Enemy; but his trimming Politicks would not let him act against him. He begun to be jealous of *your Majesty's* shewing me so much Favour, and as he would not have been displeas'd if you had not put so much confidence in my Services; so he would, if he could, have made the Prosecution of *Monsieur Fouquet* pass for Injustice. See how they, who desire to pass for Wise Men in Publick; yet cannot dissemble, when they think their own Interest is at stake; so that to judge of Things rightly, a Man must not do it rashly
by

by appearances : A Prudent Man ought to stay till such Accidents happen, as use to move Peoples Passions ; for 'tis then we are to make a Judgment of Mens Wisdom, and not where that which passeth doth not concern 'em ; for then 'tis no wonder if they appear insensible.

Your Majesty erected a Court of Justice, to enquire how the Farmers of your Revenue had behav'd themselves ; which drew upon me the publick hatred, because the number of those who had robb'd *your Majesty*, was so great, that half *Paris* was concern'd in it, either by themselves, or by their Friends and Relations. Indeed, the prodigious Wealth of those Blood-suckers of your People, was so great, that they were ally'd to most of the Considerable Military, or Gownmen : They had also brought the Sale of all Places to so excessive a Price, that no body but themselves were able to buy : *Fieubet* offer'd for the Attorney-General's Place, sixteen hundred thousand *Francks*. That of a Chief Judge, was not less worth. That of a Master of Requests, was valued at a Hundred and ten thousand Crowns. A simple Councillor of Parliament's Place, at two Hundred and I know not how many thousand Livers.

I very plainly foresaw what effect this would have against me ; and that it would be said also, there was no Faith in *your Majesty*, who after People had serv'd you with their Purse, you paid your Debts with excessive Taxes, and sent such People to Hospitals, who before had liv'd as handsomly as any in *Paris* ; tho' the baseness of their Original, was an infallible Proof
that

that they had gotten their Wealth by Rapine ; and consequently, there was no Injustice in obliging them to disgorge it : But there was a great deal of difference between what was done during your Minority, and what you did your self : The one requires, that a Prince should make good his Word, otherwise he would find none to serve him in his necessity, whence would happen greater Inconveniences, than any humane Prudence would be able to remedy : So that a Prince would be very ill advis'd, who should by his ill Conduct deprive himself of that Assistance, which sooner or later he shall be sure to want : For tho' he may Reign but a little time, yet those Things may fall out, wick he could not foresee, let his Management be never so frugal : They may sometimes be of such consequence, that the funds which he hath provided, are not sufficient to help him. There ought to be no greater a Provision of Ready Money, than what is proportion'd to the running Cash of a Kingdom ; otherwise, a Prince would bring his own Revenue to nothing, by rendring his People unable to assist him with their Purfes, the Prince himself having all the ready Money in his own Hands.

A Consequence so dangerous obligeth a Prince to keep his Word ; but yet he ought not to let his Farmers get so excessively, as to ruine his People and himself too : for 'tis manifest, if he doth not manage his Affairs like a good Father of a Family, he will be oblig'd to lay Tax upon Tax. The Farmers on their side, must not think to grow vastly Rich in a short time ; be-
cause

cause then it will be no Injustice to Fleece 'em, whereas, when their Gain is moderate, they are suffer'd to enjoy the Fruit of their Labour.

After these Remarks, I return to what I just touch'd upon before, when I said, there was great difference, between what a Prince doth himself, and that which during his Minority is done by his Minister; for if his Minister hath mismanag'd, and not taken care of his Affairs, he is not bound to approve of those Faults he committed; for a Prince ought not to be in a worse Condition than a Private Man, who can help himself against that which his Guardian hath done prejudicial to his Interest. Beside, the People having usually an irreconcilable Hatred against those that Farm the publick Revenue, 'tis a Pleasure to them to see 'em lose some of their Grease: To this I add, that the time of a Prince's Minority being commonly troublesome, and his Coffers charged with a great many Debts; he cannot take an easier course to pay them, or that which will make less noise; because it toucheth none but some particular Persons, and the generality is so far from being discontented, that they rejoice at it; because they had rather the Prince should have their Substance, than those wretches, who in Fattening themselves with it, often do the People a thousand Injuries.

By this way of prosecuting the *Partisans*, *your Majesty* paid a vast number of Debts; and in the mean time, God blessed your Marriage with a Son, who inherits his Father's Vertues, *your Majesty* hath taken such care of his Education, that joyn'd with his natural disposition, it must
be

be a wonder if he prove a Prince less perfect than your self.

About this time, you marry'd Monsieur your Brother, to a Princess of *England*; he took the Title of Duke of *Orleans*, after the Death of Monsieur your Uncle, who left no Male Issue. This Alliance maintain'd a good Correspondence between *your Majesty* and the *English*, who after the Death of *Cromwell*, in the Year 1658. found his Son *Richard* so unfit to succeed him, that they set their Lawful King again upon the Throne. About that time fell out an Accident in that Country, which had like to have ingag'd *your Majesty* in a new War: Your Ambassador having sent his Coaches to meet the *Sweedish* Ambassador, who was to make his Publick Entry, the *Spanish* Ambassador, that his Coach might go before yours, hir'd Men to cut the Traces of your Ambassador's Coach, so that the *Spaniard* had what he desir'd: But his Triumph lasted not long; for *your Majesty* being justly incens'd against what he had done, demanded Satisfaction of the King of *Spain*, who seem'd a while Deaf before he would yield to what you requir'd: But *your Majesty* having commanded your Ambassador at *Madrid*, to tell the King of *Spain*, unless he gave you the Satisfaction you expected, there must be a Rupture between the two Crowns. The fear the King of *Spain* had of *your Majesty's* Arms, made him not only disclaim what his Ambassador had done; but also declare it was not his Intention to dispute precedency with *your Majesty*.

This

This Declaration was made by the Marquess *de la Fuentes*, his Catholick Majesty's Minister, residing in your Court, in Presence of other Embassadors and Ministers who were also there ; and their Masters were by them certify'd, this Difference was ended to *your Majesty's* Satisfaction. After this, you suppress the Place of Collonel-General of the *French* Infantry, vacant by the Death of the Duke *d' Epernon*, who had carry'd the Authority of this Place so high, that he seem'd to have almost a mind to contest it with *your Majesty*, pretending to dispose of all Commands in the Infantry, without excepting so much as the Companies of your Guards ; which was of such Consequence, that it might have been the Cause of many Inconveniences.

You made many excellent Regulations among the Souldiery ; so that they became subject to Discipline, which before they were not ; for such Disorder reign'd among 'em, that there was as many Masters as Captains ; especially in the old Corps, where they were so far from acknowledging the Authority of Collonels, that they would hardly submit to that of a General. You likewise positively Commanded that all the Souldiers should have what they wanted ; and whereas before they went almost naked, and in the same Company one was Cloath'd in Grey, another in Blue, Red, or any other Colour ; you Order'd they should have Shoes and Stockings, and that every Companies Cloaths should be all of one Colour. This other Princes lik'd so well, and thought so necessary, that they have all since follow'd your Example ; and *your Majesty* may
boast

boast, that all the Souldiers in *Europe*, owe to you the Conveniences they now enjoy.

But you have not done any thing so much to their Advantage, as the taking away from their Captains the Power of trying them for their Crimes ; because the impunity which they hop'd for, encourag'd them to commit many Disorders. Certainly, there is nothing more unjust, than to leave the Punishment of an Offence, to them whose Interest it is to save the Offender : and 'tis well known, that a Captain, who must give money for a Souldier, in the room of one that is Cashier'd or Hang'd, is seldom so great a Lover of Justice, as to buy it at his own Cost.

This Reformation among your *Partisans* and Souldiers, preceded all others ; because you look'd upon it, to be the Foundation of all sure and solid Government ; rationally concluding, that when you were Powerful in both, all the rest, without meeting with any difficulty, would do well of it self. For certainly, a Prince that hath Money and a good Army, is not only sure of his own Peoples Respect, but of his Neighbours also. 'Tis that which gives him Reputation, and without which a Kingdom cannot Flourish. So likewise a Prince who takes care of his Affairs, will make it his chief Business to gain Reputation ; wherein he will find more Advantage, than in making himself fear'd by unjust Enterprizes, tho' they should meet with Success : For the one draws upon him the Enmity of all other Princes, when the other procures him their Respect and Esteem : When a Kingdom hath many Enemies, it sooner or later receives some deadly Blow, all
striving

striving against it: Whereas, when its Power is
 founded upon Right and Reason, it hath always
 faithful Allyes, who will never fail to assist it in
 time of need. A Prince therefore, who is well
 advis'd, ought not to undertake any War that is
 unjust; for if nothing but Ambition puts Arms
 into his Hands, his old Friends presently become
 his Enemies; for which they are not to be blam'd,
 since their safety is no greater than others. Yet
 this Truth, as Evident as it is, and from which
 Princes should never depart, is not always the
 rule of their Actions: A corrupt Minister often
 endeavours to insinuate other Máxims, and instead
 of taking good Heed, they mistake the Shadow
 for the Substance: I am troubled that this may be
 said of *your Majesty*; but because you are to fear
 Flatterers more than declared Enemies, I am re-
 solv'd to be none of the first Number; but will in
 due time make it appear, that Monsieur *Louvoys*,
 abusing the Credit he hath with you, hath advis'd
 you to do that which is directly contrary to your
 Interest, and hath stirr'd up a world of Enemies
 against you: For tho' the prosperous Condition
 wherein you now are, keeps them yet silent;
 nevertheless, to make good what I have said,
 there needs no other Proof, than the Answer which
 the Baron *Delval* made to your Minister Mon-
 sieur *Louvoys*, when shewing him the *Arsenal* at
Douay; he said, if ever *your Majesty* had a
 War, this would make a brave Noise. I believe
 it answer'd the Baron, and I am sure, such a
 Noise, as will awaken all *Europe*. I think there
 is no need of explaining this Answer to *your*
Majesty, it sufficiently expounds it self; and no-
 thing

thing could more ingeniously reproach *your Majesty*, for the many Enemies your Minister hath rais'd against you. I know his Enterprizes have been prosperous, which keeps him still in your Favour; but upon serious Reflection, *your Majesty* will find, it had been a thousand times better for you, you had never been so Powerful, and that you had been much happier had you been quiet: For now your Mind must be still taken up with the Intrigues, which you know are daily hatching against you in Princes Courts, heretofore full of Affection toward you; but as things now stand, instead of concurring with you for your Safety, there is not one but is now to be suspected by you.

If *your Majesty* be not sensible enough of these Truths, that you may be fully convinc'd of 'em, I beseech you to call to Mind that which happen'd in the Year 1662. and compare it with what hath past since; and you may thereby judge, what Power, Justice supported by a good Reputation, had over those, who were not accus'd to bow: And I believe, if the like should fall out now, Satisfaction would not be so speedily given you; the hope of being assisted by your Enemies, would encourage People to affront and oppose you, and *your Majesty* would be oblig'd by actual Arms, to obtain that Satisfaction, which in those Days cost you but a Threat to make use of 'em. I might likewise mention what happen'd to your Embassador at *Rome*, to whom the Corfes of the Pope's Guard shew'd so little Respect, that to Revenge some of their Comrades, who had been ill treated by

by your Embassador's People, they affronted him in his very Palace. The Dutcheſs of *Crequi* his Wife, was likewise in danger of her Life; for in her Return out of the Countrey to the City, they shot at her, as they had at her Husband, so that she had a Page kill'd, and some of her Servants wounded: The Tumult, at last grew so great, that they both left *Rome*, and went to *St. Quirico*; of which, when your Majesty had notice, you sent your Complaint to the Pope, who, encourag'd by some Cardinals that were no Friends to your Majesty, seem'd to approve what the Corſes had done; but you firmly and positively resolving to have Reparation for the Affront, Ambition having no part in the Quarrel; the Pope's Quality did not hinder you from requiring Satisfaction; and tho' his Holiness did not think you would have pushed things on so far, yet because you demanded nothing but what was just, it was agree'd, that the Corſes, who always us'd to guard the Pope, should not only be cashier'd, but a Pyramid should be erected, whereon should be inscrib'd in golden Letters, what Satisfaction had been given you: His Holiness also consented, that Cardinal *Chigi* should come into *France*, and pray your Majesty to accept this Reparation, and to forget what had pass'd.

Behold an Effect and Proof of what I have been saying; and as I have already observ'd, I very much doubt, should the like happen now, whether your Majesty would meet with the like Satisfaction. I have already given you Reasons for it, to which I will only add, that Reputati-

on is as necessary for a Prince among his own Subjects, as his Neighbours; for Power is not founded upon Force and Injustice; his Subjects may Fear him, but they will never Love him, and by Fear without Love, he will never compass his Ends: The one without the other commonly does more Harm than Good; Fear continues no longer, than People see the Prince in a Condition, to make all bow and submit to his Pleasure; but as soon as his Fortune changes, they presently despise him. On the contrary, tho' Fortune changes, Love doth not; and the more unfortunate a Prince is, the greater Endeavours are us'd to restore him to the Prosperity he hath lost.

Your Majesty, who so Gloriously supported your Interest in Foreign Countries, did that upon your Frontier, which was of very great Advantage to you; you bought the Town of *Dunkirk* of the *English*, for Two Millions and Two Hundred Thousand Livers, which you gave for it, and thereby safe-guarded your Kingdom.

The Treaty which you made with the Duke of *Lorrain*, so much displeas'd his Nephew, that leaving a Ball, where he danc'd with *your Majesty*, he got out of the Kingdom, and went to *Rome*, where he thought the Pope would espouse his Interest. But his Holiness desiring to be excus'd, he went to *Vienna*, where the Emperour gave him a Retreat; at which you were not troubled, because you had nothing to do with him to make good your Title. But it appear'd his Presence was necessary to the Treaty, because of the express Terms in it, that it should

should be ratify'd by him, and all the Princes of the Family. You went to the Parliament to have it register'd ; but *your Majesty* fearing you might meet with opposition, because there was a Clause in the Treaty that all of the Family were to be acknowledged Princes of the Blood, and capable of succeeding to the Crown, in case the House of *Bourbon* should come to fail, you went thither with your Regiment of Guards, which consisted of Three Thousand Men.

The Respect which was paid to your Presence, was the Reason why *your Majesty* was not told that this Treaty wanted other Solemnities to make it valid ; for it was not the Parliament's Business to examine it, but the States of the Kingdom, to whom it belong'd to chuse a Master when they had none : And it was this Clause I meant, when I said it was an invincible Obstacle to your Designs. For beside this Difficulty, there were many others, among which the most considerable was, that which concern'd other Foreign Princes, now naturaliz'd and settled in your Kingdom, who would receive Wrong by it ; paticulatly the House of *Longueville*, which pretends the States of the Kingdom heretofore declar'd, that for a Reward of the Services done by the Count *de Dunois* to the Crown, it should belong to that Family, whenever the Throne became Vacant. The Dukes and Peers, who likewise would not give Place to any of these *Lorrain* Princes, were also a great Obstacle to this Affair. Nevertheless, *your Majesty* flattering your self, that you should effect this Business by your Power, press'd the Duke of *Lorrain*, according to this

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Treaty,

Treaty, to put into your Hands the Town of *Marfall*; and because he doubted what Resolution to take, you threatned by Force of Arms to make him do it. But notwithstanding all your Threats, he continued irresolute, and you went towards *Lorrain*, with so great a number of your Nobility, that never were so many seen together at one time: You found the secret of making People pay that Respect which was due to *your Majesty*, by the Favours you so seasonably bestow'd, and which engag'd a great Number of Gentlemen to wait on you, who in the time of your Minority, would not have taken the Pains to have gone out of their Doors. Your Court shin'd brighter than ever it had done, and the more, for the many Blue Ribbands you made, which were no little Ornament about your Person.

Soon after this, you also created a great many Dukes and Peers, wherein you shew'd a great deal of Policy; for most of the Grandees, who had no mind to this Dignity, kept close to *your Majesty*, to avoid the like Reward.

The Prince of *Condé*, who at his Return thought to find you the same you were in Cardinal *Mazarin's* time, was much surpriz'd to see you so different from what he thought you. He look'd so little in *your Majesty's* Presence, and you took so little notice of him, that scarce any body would believe when they saw him, this was the Famous Rebel that had been so much talkt of. But you took Pleasure to mortifie him at his first coming, to make him leave his Proud Humour, of expecting to be every where Lord and Master.

If you made the Prince of *Condé* tremble, I need not say his Example taught others not to depart from that Duty, which by their Birth they were oblig'd to pay *your Majesty*. All Persons appear'd in your Presence with a Respect that added Lustre to your Royalty; and gave it quite another Figure than it had in the time of which I have already spoken. The Desire every one had to please you, made People apply themselves to that which before they scorn'd to do. All the young Gentlemen of good Families, list-ed themselves either in your Company of Mus-quetiers, which *your Majesty* had again set on foot; or in your Regiment of Guards; and seeing you took delight in all that look'd like War, which your greatest Enemies cannot deny, you spent a great part of your time in disciplining this Company; so that If I may make a Com-parison, which perhaps some will not like, I will presume to say, never did any *Spanish Jennet* better perform the Exercises of Manage under a skilful Rider, than this Company did every thing that was commanded by *your Majesty*.

Of this I can yet say more, which others observ'd as well as my self, and by which a Man might judge, what you one Day would be able to do; seeing you did it in your Youth. What could those Seven or Eight Hours together signi-fie, which *your Majesty* stay'd in the Court of the *Louvre* exercising that Company in the depth of Winter? But the Application wherewith you would in time to come do your Duty, and that you would despise both Heat and Cold, when you design'd to get Glory.

But yet it cannot be said, this was a domineering Humour in *your Majesty*, because you took the like care of all that concern'd your Royalty. I have already said, *your Majesty* commanded me to bring you Cardinal *Richelieu's* Memoirs; the esteem you had for the Memory of that great Man, and your own sincere Piety, without Ostentation, inclin'd you to perfect what he had so happily begun; which was the extirpation of all the Hereticks in your Kingdom. But *your Majesty* knowing that it is very dangerous to pass from one Extreme to another, you have by little and little so prepar'd things to ripen, that in Twenty Years time the Work may come to Perfection.

Your Majesty's Presence brought the Duke of *Lorraine* to a fix'd Resolution, he having agreed to the Terms upon which he was to deliver the Town of *Marsall* to *your Majesty*. You came back from *Metz* in so little time, that the Post could not make more haste; you having order'd the best running Horses in your Stables to be laid on the Way: Every one took the Liberty of enquiring why *your Majesty* made such Haste, and as there are always some that guess right, what you intended to keep secret, was presently talk'd of all the Town over. Which ought to teach Princes not to undertake any thing which they would not have People know. For they cannot with all their Power keep Mens Curiosity from prying narrowly into all their Actions.

Your Majesty being pleas'd with my Services, I took the Liberty to lay before you all that Cardinal *Richelieu* had design'd for the Glory of
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your Realm. There was nothing of so great importance in his Papers, as Trade and Navigation; but neither could be maintain'd without making your self strong at Sea, which was properly *your Majesty's* Work: To me you committed the care of this, as well as of your Buildings, wherein there were great Disorders; I acquitted my self in both to the best of my Power. In the mean time *your Majesty* having thought fit to attempt something on the Coast of *Gigeri*, the Success whereof promis'd great Advantage to the Trade of the *Levant*, and to *your Majesty's* Reputation in that Country; you caus'd some Troops to pass into *Provence*, where Vessels lay ready to receive 'em. They were safely Transported, and Landed almost without any Opposition made by the *Barbarians*: But the chief Commanders, on whom you rely'd, having taken ill Measures, the Business miscarry'd, tho' well design'd, and better digested: For 'tis not enough for a thing to be so well order'd in Council, as that none can object against it, unless it be likewise well executed. So that a Prince cannot take too much care, to make a good choice of those he employs, seeing his Reputation depends upon it; especially when his Enterprises lie so far off, that he is not able to remedy the Faults that are there committed.

Some would make me believe, that *Montieur Tellier* was not well pleas'd with that free access I had to *your Majesty's* Person, nor with my being trusted with what concern'd the War: He would have had *your Majesty* chuse more experienc'd Officers, in whose Hands the Business

would have prosper'd better; but tho' I have heard such Reports, I will do him right, and I had rather attribute that which happen'd at *Gigeri* to Fate, which sometimes ruins the best laid Designs; rather than wrong Monsieur *Tellier's* Reputation. To make that Misfortune yet greater, the Vessel upon which the Chief Officers of the Regiment were embark'd, was so Leaky that it sunk, which extreamly troubled *your Majesty*. My Enemies, who must be many after that which I have said, would have imputed the Misfortune to my Fault, pretending that I having the Oversight of the Marine Affairs ought to have taken care the Vessel had been good; but it having been visited by experienc'd Shipwrights before it was put to Sea, *your Majesty*, who doth Right to all the World, was not at all displeas'd with me. The Fault was that the Ship had not for a long time been in Service, which doth Vessels more harm, than if they were continually at Sea.

This ill News, because it came after that which is better, did not make that impression, which otherwise it might have done upon *your Majesty's* Mind. You were pleas'd with the good News you receiv'd out of *Hungary*, where your Arms had acquir'd you no little Glory; and where without them the Emperour, who had already receiv'd a Check, had been totally defeated: For when the right Wing of his Army had been beaten by the *Turks*, which gave them hopes of an entire Victory, your Troops, which were in the Left, charg'd so bravely, that they trod down all that oppos'd 'em, and having,

ving, by their making a Stand, renew'd the Fight, they beat the *Turks*; shewing so much resolution and Courage, that the Emperour, instead of returning them Thanks, grew Jealous of 'em; and instead of resolving to improve the Victory, which had caus'd a great Consternation among the *Turks*, he made a precipitate Peace; as if he had been afraid your Troops would have taken his Crown from him.

These two particular Events, of good and bad Fortune, hinder'd *your Majesty* from mounting to that high pitch of Glory where you now are. The excellent Order which you fetled ev'ry where throughout your Kingdom, which was still sensible of the Abuses which in Cardinal *Mazarin's* Time had crept into it, are an evident Proof that you were a great King. You reform'd the Order of St. *Michel*, which before that of the St. *Esprit* was the Reward where-with Kings your Predecessors honour'd the greatest Men in their Kingdom; but was so little esteem'd after the Institution of the other, that all Sorts of People were indifferently receiv'd into it; and at last became like the Order of the Star, which in time was so despis'd, that one of your Predecessors, to make it more Vile and Despicable, bestow'd it upon the Archers of the City Watch. *Your Majesty* prudently resolv'd to reform this Abuse, especially because the Order of St. *Michel* is joyn'd to that of the St. *Esprit*, and that the Knights of this last Order, could not be receiv'd into it, unless they had been before of the first.

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However, I must say that *your Majesty* did not so thoroughly purge it of the mean Persons that were in it ; but that some still remain. For it is the inevitable Misfortune of all Princes, that when they rely wholly upon others, it would be a wonder if Favour or Faction should not prevail against Justice. Therefore if Princes would have things done according to their own directions, they ought to overlook those they depute to see their Pleasure perform'd. For if they trust wholly to their Fidelity, 'tis the way to have their work but half done.

Your Majesty for the good of your Kingdom Incorporated likewise a Company for the Trade of the *Indies* ; and indeed a Kingdom cannot flourish so long as that Trade is driven by Strangers. It should be taken out of the hands of the *English* and *Dutch*, who were suffer'd by your Predecessors to be the sole Masters of that Commerce. This Establishment very much displeas'd those two Nations, who were so jealous of one another, that after some coldness they were ready to quarrel. 'Tis Interest that sets all People together by the Ears. After some flashes of Lightning followed Thunder, and after a Breach, the *English* and *Dutch* came to an open War.

Your Majesty offer'd to both your Mediation, that things might go no further ; but the *English*, who pretend to the dominion of the Sea, and to impose Conditions upon all others, stood so stiff upon their Points, that *your Majesty* thought your self oblig'd to take the part of your Ancient Friends, against the Old Enemies of your Crown. *Your Majesty* put out a Fleet at Sea in favour of the

the *Hollanders*, and equipp'd another at the same time against the *Algerines*. The Duke of *Beaufort*, who commanded it, having receiv'd your Orders, fought the *Algerines* with such success, that he beat them twice in three Months ; he took several of their Ships, among which was the Admiral : This Advantage wrought a good Effect among those Barbarous People ; who endeavour'd to lessen your Reputation, by what had happen'd at *Gigeri*. But that which increas'd their Terrour, was your setting out new Ships on the Ocean, and in the *Mediterranean*, which made all *Europe* think, that in a little time you would be in a Condition, not only to dispute the Empire of the Sea with the *English*, but with any other Nation whatever. Beside, these Ships, which considerably increas'd your Fleet, you had Magazines full of Stores, Materials and Workmen ; you wanted no Seamen or Pilots, so that it was thought you intended to dispute that Dominion, which belongs only to him that is strongest.

I do not pretend to magnifie my self by what I have said ; tho' I have done the best I could in it. To speak the truth, I must confess this Design was not mine, I did but finish what Cardinal *Richelieu* first began. I know it was he that put the King your Father upon augmenting his Power at Sea ; or I should rather say, to make himself known there : For before him, all his Predecessors, even *Henry* the 4th. himself, had not one single Ship. But this Project was but lamely carried on, under the ministry of that great

great Man ; so that it may be truly said, the Glory of it was reserv'd for *your Majesty*.

About this time *your Majesty* did two things, very much for the good of your self and People ; and which the deceased King your Father attempted in vain. You reduc'd Persons of Quality, and those of the Long Robe, to perfect Obedience. You did the one under the pretence of Justice ; the other by your absolute Power : Many Gentlemen, by the licentiousness of the times, had usurp'd so much Authority, that they were in their Provinces like so many petty Tyrants, and made all tremble under 'em. The Judges in those Provinces, who were bound by the Duty of their Places to oppose such Innovations, did not dare to do it, in a time when they fear'd to be run down. Beside, they were unwilling to concern themselves ; for People commonly prefer their private Interest, before the publick good. They were afraid to contest with those petty Kings of the Country, so that they stirr'd no more, than as if all that past had been indifferent to 'em. But *your Majesty* who thought your self oblig'd not to suffer such Abuses, because none but you could pretend to Supremacy ; being bound to protect your Subjects, and secure them from Violence ; *your Majesty*, I say, not being any longer able to suffer what was derogatory to your Authority, and so contrary to the Peace of your People, you Establish'd the *Grands-jours*, that is a certain number of Justices in every Province, where they were to take Cognizance of those that were guilty of vexation. Many were Imprison'd, others ran away, and

and some having been punish'd by demolishing their Castles, or by the loss of their Heads, you got the love of all your People, who found themselves freed from Slavery by your Justice.

Behold how a wise and a judicious King, doth at one and the same time his own and his Subjects business. *Your Majesty* did not tell them, that what you did was as much for your own sake as for theirs ; but on the contrary, it was necessary they should believe all you aim'd at, was only to deliver 'em from Oppression. Otherwise, as they would have thought you had not merited much from them, so certainly this was the way to meet with no opposition from the common People ; for could the Gentry have persuaded them you had other designs, it was to be fear'd they might have mutually assisted each other ; which perhaps might have given *your Majesty* trouble. When a King would lessen the Power of his Nobility, he must irritate the common People against them ; which is not difficult, because Noblemen are naturally inclin'd to domineer, 'tis easy therefore to make the Multitude Jealous of 'em. Now seeing the Nobility can be so easily humbled, they should renounce all kind of Cabals, especially such wherein the People are engag'd : For the Nobility ought to believe, they have no Enemy greater than the Common-People, what Countenance soever they carry toward 'em : Tho' the People may in appearance shew them Respect, yet they are in continual fear of their Lording it over 'em, from which they still seek to be freed. Undeniable Truth makes it evident, that their Interests are directly

ly repugnant to one another's, which plainly proves, that the Nobility cannot hope for any Advantage, but from a perfect Union with their Prince ; whose Interest likewise 'tis to use them well: They ought alway so to agree, that 'tis not possible to divide 'em. The Foundation of this Union ought to be perfect Obedience on the Subjects part, and a just Retribution on the Sovereign's ; they ought to do their Duty, and he must do his.

The other thing which *your Majesty* did for your own and your Peoples Good, was to take away the Abuse crept into the Sale of Places of Judicature; grown to that height I have already mention'd ; which was the Reason why those that had Places were so Proud; and why many, made necessitous by paying Interest for the Money they borrow'd to buy their Offices, did not scruple the selling of Justice. This was a nice Business, because what Regulation soever *your Majesty* made, they were, to speak properly, both Judges and Parties ; for they were to register the Edict: But if a Man were to judge what would be done now, by what had pass'd heretofore ; there was no likelihood the thing would succeed ; because this would be a considerable Prejudice to them, by lessening the value of their Places; when some Years before they rebell'd only for retrenching their Wages. But *your Majesty* going to the Parliament, accompanied with Four Thousand Men, as soon as you presented to them the Edict, they not only Register'd it, but also gave *your Majesty* Thanks for the care you took,

took to reform the Abuses which were crept in-
to your Kingdom.

I do not pretend to perswade *your Majesty*,
that these Thanks were given you willingly ;
for I believe they were a little forc'd, and
that the Four Thousand Men you had with you,
did more contribute to the Parliaments Grati-
tude, than any esteem they had for your Govern-
ment. However, this serves to let all Princes
know, that there are proper Seasons to cause
their Will and Pleasure to be obey'd ; and that
at other Times 'tis dangerous to require it.
They must therefore undertake no more, than
they have Strength to perform ; for their being
born Sovereigns, is not enough to enable them to
command absolutely, they are more than others
subject to the Vicissitude of Times ; and For-
tune hath as much Power over them, as over
the meanest of all their People. A Prince
ought likewise to be very Prudent, because the
Failings of a private Man, can at most but pre-
judice himself and his Family ; but when a
Prince doth ill, he sometimes involves his whole
Realm in such fatal Consequences, as can never
be remedy'd.

The *Jansenists* endeavour'd again to stir up
new Troubles in the Church ; which oblig'd the
Pope to condemn their Doctrine a Second Time.
Your Majesty follow'd his Example, and shew'd
the more Circumspection in this Affair, because
you saw the Consequences of it might be conside-
rable. Some Persons of the best Quality in your
Court, had suffer'd themselves to be seduc'd, as
well as some Religious Societies, whose Heads were

so full of it, that you were forc'd to employ your Royal Authority, to bring 'em again to their right Senses. They suffer'd very much, before they could resolve to acknowledge their Errour; So true is it, that People are very obstinate in Matters of Religion, and there is nothing more dangerous, than Contests about it, under pretence of Devotion.

The Clergy by your Command assembled at *Ponthoife*, as well to remedy this Abuse, as to take necessary Resolutions concerning other Matters of great Importance then before 'em. They were extreamly pleas'd with the Piety wherewith you enter'd into their Interests; which likewise procur'd you the Esteem of your People, because there is nothing gives a Prince more, than his tending to God that which is his due.

Many things contributed to celebrate your Name both at home and abroad. One single Ship of yours fought with so much Resolution against Thirty Three *Turkish* Galleys, that they left the Vessel, not being able to take it. The Succours which you sent to the *Hollanders* against the Bishop of *Munster*, who had attack'd 'em, kept 'em from receiving an Affront: For tho' their State in it self was more Powerful than his, yet after the Peace they made with *Spain*, they took more care to maintain their Trade, than the Reputation they had gotten by their Arms; and therefore they were in a much different and weaker Condition than they had formerly been. People are very much deceiv'd, that think their Strength consists in Riches; they are indeed needful to
make

make a State Powerful ; but 'tis an Army that's more necessary, and without which it cannot subsist. A Country ought to have Souldiers enough to defend its Frontiers, and likewise to keep its Neighbours in Awe: For if they see a Country so weak, that they may without Fear invade it ; 'tis Folly to trust to their Promises or Treaties. If People will live in Peace, they must take care not to be despis'd ; the Richer and more Flourishing any People are, the more jealous they ought to be of their Safety: For there are so many who will envy their Prosperity, that some of their Neighbours will endeavour to rob 'em of what they have.

It was about this time, that *your Majesty* began to employ Marquess *Louvois*, to whom you had granted the Reversion of his Father's Place. He was so rough-hewn, and so little inclin'd to Business, that Monsieur *Tellier* desir'd *your Majesty*, not to trouble your self any more, with one that was never like to come to Good: He was so given to his Pleasures, that his Father look'd upon him as a Son more like to spend the Estate he had gotten, than to add any thing to it by his Industry. But *your Majesty*, having a very great Kindness for Monsieur *Tellier's* Family, told him he must have a little Patience, what was not done in One Day, might be effected in Two ; and therefore you did not despair but some good might be done with his Son ; that Youth was to be indulg'd and reclaim'd by Kindness, and not by Threats.

Your Majesty took Pains to frame and fashion him ; and, as it must be confess'd, notwithstanding

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what I have already said, and shall say hereafter, the Man hath many good Qualities ; so it ought to teach us, that time is to be given to Men, as to Fruits to ripen : Whoever hastens things too fast, rather spoils than brings 'em to Maturity. There are some, whose Parts advance so slowly, that it would turn their Brains to endeavour to make 'em understand any thing before their time ; they must be brought to it by Degrees, without using the least Violence. Beside, 'tis not to be thought Men can be presently made fit for business, especially Youth, that cannot endure Pains, and loves nothing but Pleasure. Application to Business comes not till the Judgment be form'd, and 'tis then we insensibly habituate our selves to it, and afterwards think it little or no trouble. 'Tis Business makes Men ; as the common saying is, Forging makes a Smith.

Monsieur *Louvois* did not at first much love taking Pains ; yet had the same Faults, which those have that grow Proud of their Services, he grew jealous of all those to whom *your Majesty* was pleas'd to shew any Kindness, more particularly of me, who had the Honour to discourse often with *your Majesty*, as superintendent of your *Finances* and Buildings : For *your Majesty*, who is great in all Things, did then build at *Versailles* and at the *Louvre*, of which I was to give you an Account every Week, and sometimes every Day, because you often chang'd somewhat in your Design, which I was to see done.

But

But because Monsieur *Louvois*'s Employment did not require his conferring with *your Majesty* so often in times of Peace, as when you were engag'd in an actual War; he did all he could by the Counsel of his Father, to perswade *your Majesty* to begin a War: he took an Opportunity to do it upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, which happen'd much about this time. He told *your Majesty* that some Provinces in the Low-Countries were fallen to the Queen your Wife, according to the Custom of those Places, which made her Heir to her Brother *Don Balbazar*, who, had he liv'd, was to have succeeded his Father, before his Catholick Majesty now Dead.

This was the Gilded Pill the Marquess offer'd to *your Majesty*, and knowing you would not swallow it, unless he cover'd the Poison it contain'd, with the Shadow and Colour of Justice: He therefore did not speak of it, as a dependence upon the Succession of the King your Father-in-Law, which you had so solemnly renounc'd by the *Pyrenean* Treaty; but he disguis'd the Business under the Name of *Don Balbazar*, making *your Majesty* believe it had no relation at all to your Renunciation. Which was an Artifice very gross, for Prince *Balbazar* had no Right to succeed his Father, till his Father was Dead; nor had the Queen your Wife any Right to succeed Prince *Balbazar*, but what was meerly imaginary; because he died before his Father. That Law also with which Monsieur *Louvois* kept such a stir, in Favour of Daughters succeeding before the Children of a Second Bed, signified nothing to the purpose: For had Prince

Balthazar surviv'd his Father, you had so formally renounc'd all claim to that whereto the Queen your Wife could pretend any Right, that you could have no Colour of Title to it, unless you would declare your self a Perjur'd Person to all the World. But this suppos'd Succession to *Don Balthazar*; your Martial Humour, and the desire of perpetuating your Name, put you upon what was not so much to be blam'd, because it seem'd necessary to be done for your Justification, before you began a War. You caus'd the Lawyers to consult what Title you had to the Succession which you claim'd in Right of your Queen: The Person you sent to these Lawyers, was Monsieur *Louvois*, who was too much concern'd, to bring any Opinion against what he had maintain'd to *your Majesty*; those Advocates therefore, whom the Marquess had feed, maintain'd by long, but very weak Arguments, that *your Majesty's* Renunciation was absolutely null, and not at all binding; because it was contrary to the constitutions of your Kingdom; which are, that the King may make void what he hath done, and relieve himself against it, as if it had been done in perfect Minority. They chiefly insisted upon the pretended Prejudice they said you had done to the Dauphin your Son, by the Renunciation; and enlarg'd themselves upon this further Argument, that neither Divine or Humane Laws did permit, any Fathers to dispose (according to their own Fancy) of their Sons Inheritance; concluding, that this alone nullified all that you had done, and consequently you had Reason to pursue

purſue your own and your Son's Right by force of Arms.

But there were many things to be objected againſt all this. The firſt was, That it would be dangerous to ſet the Crown upon ſuch a Foot, that there could be no ſecurity in treating or contracting with it : For if 'tis ſufficient to ſay *your Maſteſty* is always a Minor, what Truſt or Confidence can any body put in your Promiſes ? Or when a War is once begun, what way can be found to end it ? This Argument is ſo full of Reaſon, and may be carried ſo high, as to confound all thoſe who maintain ſuch pernicious Maxims. *Your Maſteſty* is too knowing, to want any Inſtruction in a Matter ſo clear and indiſputable ; I will not therefore trouble you with Reaſons, but ſhew that they by whom you are ſo ill adviſ'd, give juſt Occaſion to the whole World, to accuſe you of intolerable Ambition ; which is ſo ill a Character, that it turns your ancient Friends into Enemies, and indiſpenſibly ſtirſ up all Princes againſt you : For who can ever think himſelf ſecure againſt your Injuſtice ? Or who will truſt a Prince, whoſe Word is not to be taken in Peace or War ? People are not ſafe in either ; in the one, they are in perpetual Diſtruſt, and in the other in continual Perplexity, not knowing what to fear.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the Queen your Mother dyed ; who, had ſhe liv'd, would have been very much troubled, to ſee a Peace broken, upon which ſhe had ſet her Heart. You oblig'd the Biſhop of *Munſter* to make Peace with the *Hollanders* ; but you found it more dif-

ficult to bring the Duke of *Lorrain* to any compliance with *your Majesty*, tho one would have thought by the Mortifications you had given him, he would have been more flexible.

This Duke, who was a Riddle to all Mankind, came after the Business of *Marsall to Paris*; where he seem'd to have so little Sence of the ill condition of his Affairs, that he would have marry'd a mean Citizen's Daughter, that was one of Mademoiselle *Montpensier's* Domestick Servants; and the Business was so far advanc'd, as to come to a Contract of Marriage: But *your Majesty* was requested, by his Friends, to interpose your Royal Authority to hinder the Match.

The Duke's Relations had again recourse to *your Majesty* in another Business of the same Nature, but somewhat less Shameful; because the Woman he courted was the Daughter of a Gentleman. *Your Majesty* being extremely angry, that the Duke would so dishonour himself, commanded the Maid's Father not to suffer his Daughter to marry him. The Duke at last seeing *your Majesty* would not let him marry so Dishonourably in your Dominions, went to seek a Mistress in his own; where he marry'd the Daughter of Count *Appremont*; she was hardly Thirteen Years of Age, and he above Threescore.

Having gratify'd his Love, his next Business was to satisfy his Ambition, which would not suffer him to live quiet a Moment. He began to make Levies, under pretence that the Elector *Palatin* committed hostilities upon his Frontiers. *Your Majesty*, by your Authority, appealing that Disorder, he had no other Pretence to continue in Arms;

Arms; yet his Falshood still readily furnish'd him with another; as oft as *your Majesty* gave him Reasons, why he ought to prefer your Friendship before all other Considerations. Your Envoy often discours'd him upon that Subject, and told him that since he had so often abus'd *your Majesty's* Patience, it was to be fear'd you would deal with him as he had deserv'd. But he seem'd to be, or indeed was insensible, or did not remember what had past: For he could not resolve to do what *your Majesty* requir'd of him; tho' he knew there was not any Body in all *Europe* that could take his Part, and save him from being ruin'd, if *your Majesty* should once fall upon him.

While this Business was in agitation, *Louvoiy* doubled his Endeavours, to perswade *your Majesty* to undertake the War of *Flanders*; whereof he pretended the Success must be infallible, because the *English* and *Hollanders* were engag'd in a War, wherein *your Majesty* had taken part with the *Dutch*, more out of Policy, than any real Intention to assist your ancient Allyes. For if you resolv'd to conquer the Low Countreys, it was not likely this Alliance would continue long, because the *Dutch* were highly concern'd, not to suffer a Potent King to become their Neighbour: So that what you had done in taking their part, was only to keep up the Quarrel the longer between them and the *English*, and that it should not end, unless you were call'd in to the making up a Peace; for your Design was to know what pass'd, that you might not take false Measures.

Indeed your Conduct was suitable to your Interest, and the Succours you lent the *Dutch*, were

neither proportionable to your Forces, nor to the Promise you made them, of doing your utmost to enable 'em to beat their Enemies. You declar'd your self for 'em ; but they beginning to suspect the great Preparations you made, thought it better to make a Peace with the *English*, than to prosecute the Advantage they had, and which gave them a prospect of greater, after that fatal Disaster which befel the *English*, by the burning of Three Parts of the City of *London* ; which cast the Inhabitants into so great a Consternation, that the *Dutch* if they pleas'd might have done their Business. Nevertheless, you did yours; for you drove the *English* out of the Island of *St. Christopher's*, and took from them the Fort they had built ; but resolving no longer to delay the War of *Flanders*, you went thither in Person, at the Head of a brave Army.

The *Spaniards* were sufficiently frightened, and not without Cause ; for your Majesty had taken care (ever since the Peace of the *Pyrenées*) to keep your Troops in as good Martial Discipline, as if they had been continually in the Field. You caus'd them to be frequently muster'd, you cashier'd all that were unfit for service, and discharg'd those who had List'd themselves in your Guards, on purpose to be free'd from paying Taxes ; this Reform went so high as Officers, many of whom were never in Service, and were much fitter for a Court, than to look an Enemy in the Face.

Turenne commanded this Army under your Majesty, and the Confidence you repos'd in him, made you prefer him before all others to teach
you

you the Art of War, wherein you look'd upon him as the most experienc'd in all your Kingdom. Therefore to reward his Services, and to let all the World see how great an esteem you had of his Conduct and Courage; you declar'd him Camp Mareschal General of your Armies, a little before the Peace between the Two Crowns; a Title that set him above all the Mareschals of *France*, and which in some manner reviv'd the Place of Constable, which was suppress'd after the Death of the Duke de *Lediguieres*, who was the last that enjoy'd it.

The Confidence which you had in this great Man, displeas'd Monsieur *Louvoy*, whose Ambition was already grown to that height, as not to be willing *your Majesty* should consult with any body but himself: But he had many bitter Pills to swallow.

Your Majesty sometimes stay'd till Noon shut up with *Turenne*, while *Louvoy* waited in your Antichamber. This begot in him that Hatred which he always had for *Turenne*, and which hath been often prejudicial to *your Majesty's* Affairs, as I shall make appear in the sequel of this Discourse. Upon which he pleas'd to permit me to make a Reflexion, which *your Majesty* will find very Just, *viz.* That there is nothing so dangerous, as the giving too much Credit to Men puff'd up with Pride and vain Glory. The Reason is, because such Men still envy the Reputation others deserve for their good Counsel, and disparage every thing which proceeds not from themselves; wishing nothing should prosper, rather than the Glory of it should be attributed to another,

nother. So that a Prince cannot be too reserv'd and cautious in the choice of a Minister; for tho' he should find in him all the Qualities requisite for so great an Employment; yet if he hath not that of preferring the Publick, before his own Private Interest, 'tis vain to expect any good from him. To perform the Duty of a Publick Minister, a Man ought to be Proof both against Love and Hatred, and do nothing but for the Publick Good. What is done for other ends, may prejudice his Master, whose Service requires, that his Minister should not be subject to any Passion.

The Spaniards, upon your Majesty's approach, blew up the Fortifications they had made in a new Place, which they called *Charleroy*. So that in less than Eight Days, they demolish'd all that which with Prodigious Labour they had been building a Year, at the Expence of more than Three Millions. Your Majesty resolving to continue the Fortifications they had begun, to keep a Pass upon the *Sambre*, where this Place is situated, made your Army work so hard, that in Three Weeks the Place was made defensible. After this you went on, and in so short a time as is almost incredible, you took the Towns of *Aeth*, *Tournay*, *Douay*, and the Forts round about it. *Oudenard* and *Alost* likewise submitted to your Arms, while the Marechal d' *Aumont* took in *Armentieres*, *Bergues*, *Furnes*, *Dixmaude* and *Courtray*. The English and Dutch hasten'd to clap up a Peace; but your Majesty, keeping on your Way, besieg'd *Lisle*, wherein were Four Thousand Men, all regular Troops,
and

and Ten times as many Burghers, able to bear Arms; which made the *Spaniards* believe you could not take the Town, having call'd to their Relief Count *Marcin*, who commanded their Army: He drew near the Place to fall upon you, and thought you so weaken'd as to be easily beaten; but *your Majesty*, having in a little time taken the Town, so totally defeated *Marcin*, that he was forc'd to save himself on Foot through a *Marish*.

This Victory promis'd you more; the Season not being yet far advanc'd: But *your Majesty* was so set upon returning to *Paris*, that you contented your self with what you had done.

There is a Time when a Man will prefer his Pleasure before his Business; which however much lessens his Reputation: For the least failing in the Life of a great Man, is a Stain which clouds the Glory and Lustre of his Actions. But who in this World is free from Faults? Especially when they proceed from a Passion to which Heroes are usually more inclin'd than other Men.

Your Majesty's Success augmented your Minister's Reputation, who became so proud of your Favour, that he did all he could to ruine me: But *your Majesty* was just to me, notwithstanding all his Endeavours; and in truth *your Majesty* was bound to protect me, since it was for you alone I expos'd my self to the Hatred of the People. I had advis'd you some Years before to suppress a part of the Rents of the * *Hotel de Ville*; which were establish'd on

* The Town-House
like the Guild-
Hall of London.

so small a Consideration, that the very Arrears they demanded, exceeded the Principal they were bought for: So that one might properly say, there was Money due to *your Majesty*, instead of your being in Debt. But seeing it would have made those People desperate who were concern'd therein, had *your Majesty* suppress'd that Fund, which you might have done with very great Justice, you resolv'd I should only fright them to retrench those Rents, that they might not be so chargeable to *your Majesty* for the future. But People will be blind, where their Interest is concern'd, for I was like to be torn to Pieces by the Multitude, particularly being one Day with the Chancellor, some of 'em were so bold to threaten me. I pretended I was willing to hear what they had to say, that I might know their Names, and *your Majesty* might cause 'em to be imprison'd, which I thought would keep 'em in Awe. However, they continu'd to insult me every Day; so that my Deputies, who were more terrify'd than I, did all they could to perswade me to meddle no more in the Business.

The Zeal I had to serve *your Majesty*, made me take little notice of my Servants Fear, which was so great, that one of them, who was a very industrious Fellow, but guilty of beeing a little too much given to Wine, which was his greatest Fault, started one Night out of his Sleep, fancying some of the *Hotel Ville* Men were come to cut his Throat. The Fumes of the Wine had so clouded his Brain, that he did not perceive his Fear proceeded only from a Dream; so that

that he put all my House into an Uproar, which frightened my Wife and Children; I awak'd with the Noise he made, and had I believ'd my Wife and Servants, I had run out of the House to save my self: But thinking it fit to know first what was the Matter, I quickly perceiv'd it was but a Drunkard's Vision, so that my House was quiet again. Next Morning I turn'd him away, because I resolv'd not to keep him after he had caus'd such a disturbance in my Family; especially, after I had so often told him, if he did not mend, I would not keep him any longer. But there are some things to which People are so addicted, that they cannot leave 'em if they would, especially when they are become habitual. Drinking is one of those Habits, which the older a Man grows, the more subject he is to it; the Reason is, because the Natural Heat decaying, he fancies that Wine gives him new Strength, whereas the excess of it takes away that which he hath yet left: The cause is not the same in Mens Inclinations to Women, which for a natural reason cannot be so great when Men grow Old, as when they are but Five and Twenty. Of all the Passions wherewith Men are Troubled, I know none so dangerous as this; beside, how little doth it suite with those, who find themselves totally disabled by Age. Whence we ought to conclude, that we must endeavour from our very Infancy to conquer this Inclination, especially, when we consider it renders a Man unfit for every thing, and consequently is to be trusted in nothing.

Your

Your Majesty doubting that your Neighbours would grow jealous of your Conquests, made a League offensive and defensive with *Portugal*; which by the Succours you lent, kept it self from falling again under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*; of which they often complain'd during the Peace; because *your Majesty* was oblig'd by one of the Articles of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, not to give *Portugal* the least Assistance. But 'tis in vain to Promise some things, which Men when they promise know they can never perform; and which are always to be reckon'd in the Number of those Things, which are directly contrary to the Interest of a Crown. So that *Whatever Allyances are made between neighbouring States, their Promises last no longer, than they are for the Common and Publick Good.* There is little ground therefore to depend upon 'em, and they that do, deceive themselves.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, who had always mischievous Designs against *your Majesty*, was by your Precaution render'd utterly unable to put 'em in execution. You made him (much against his Will) lend you his Troops to assist you in your Conquests. This made him endeavour to stir up the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* against you, who envy'd your Prosperity, and enter'd into a Treaty with the Kings of *England* and *Sweeden*, to compel you to make a Peace; into which the Duke resolv'd to enter, to be in a Condition to make you fear him: He demanded his Troops again, to come and take Winter Quarters with him, under pretence of defending his own Dominions, that were environ'd on both sides by the

the *Spaniards*; and that he might dispose of his Troops as he pleas'd ; but you were as cunning as he, and would not let them go out of *Flanders* ; which made him try to debauch 'em.

Your Majesty seem'd to take no notice of it, because you had Business of greater concern on your Hands ; therefore narrowly watching those Troops, to hinder 'em from deserting, you went in the sharpest Season of Winter into the County of *Burgundy*, being well assur'd of conquering it, because the Prince of *Condé* had beforehand treated with the Marquess of *Hienne*, who was Governour there. A thing not to be blam'd, it being Wisdom and Prudence in a Sovereign, to spare the Blood of his Subjects as much as 'tis possible ; and therefore when it costs him nothing but Money to get the Keys of a Town, he is much better advis'd than they, who venture many a Thousand Mens Lives for it, and yet often receive a Baffle, and go without it : For let a Prince's Forces be what they will, Success doth not always answer his Expectation ; so that 'tis a certain conclusion, that when a Man hath found out a sure way to do his Business, he must not scruple to put it in practice. I except Poysoning and Assassination ; two things which are so base, and ought to be so far from the Thoughts of a Prince ; that there can be nothing more shameful and dishonourable to him.

The War which you maintain'd, did not hinder you from taking care to see Justice done to your Subjects : You oblig'd your Parliaments to follow the *Code Civil* and *Criminal*, you employ'd

ploy'd some about it before your departure for *Flanders*, it being a Work that would very much shorten Proceedings in Law-Suits. Some Judges, who did not find their Account in it, and who believ'd it would be in this, as it us'd to be in other Cafes, where Penalties are threaten'd, but seldom exacted; they took their Liberty to do as their Fancy led 'em; but *your Majesty* being inform'd of it, suspended them from their Offices; which Punishment so scared others, that they learnt to be Honest and Wise at other Mens Cost.

C H A P. IV.

Containing that which past after the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle till the Holland War.

Your *Majesty* now thought it a fit time to make Peace, that those Potentates who envy'd your Prosperity might not become your Enemies.

The *Spaniards* having consented by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, that you should keep your Conquests, restoring to them the County of *Burgundy*; you became more Powerful in *Flanders* than ever you had been.

You caus'd so many Places to be fortify'd, that your Neighbours wonder'd how a Kingdom of no larger extent than yours, could do so many things at once: For tho' these Fortifications cost a prodigious Summ; yet you went on with

with your Buildings both at the *Lowvre* and *Ver-sailles*. Beside, you bought so great a Quantity of Rich Furniture, Antiquities, Jewels, and generally all Things which express the Magnificence of a Prince, that it may be said, your Predecessors were but little men compared to you: You caus'd a Coat to be made, which you wore at the ception of Embassadors, the Diamonds upon it, and on your Hat, were valued at more than *Six-teen Millions, and the Gallery before the ascent to your Throne, through which People were to pass, was so full of Rarities and Vassas of Massy Silver, that it might well be thought you had made a Collection of all that was in the *Indies*, to shew your Grandeur. The Matter or Substance of which these Things were made, was not so much to be consider'd, as the Workmanship; every thing was so curiously wrought, and by such admirable Artificers, that the Fashion cost more, than the Matter whereof it was made.

People will wonder that *your Majesty* in this, differ'd so much from your Father, who car'd so little for Things of this kind, that Strangers who went to see his Royal Houses, wonder'd that such a Prince as he, should have no better Furniture; but you did not all this out of a vain Expensive Humour; but that you knew what People would think of it: For all that is Splendid and Great begets Admiration; of which Princes have sometimes as much need as of Power: For there

* Sixteen Millions of *Livres* computed,

At 12 *Livres* to the Pound Sterling, amounts to One Million Three Hundred Thirty Three Thousand Three Hundred Thirty Three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence.

is nothing makes 'em more respected, which they seldom fail of, who know how to set a Value on themselves.

Your Majesty likewise gave Order, that your Tables should be furnish'd suitable to the State of so great a King. You had choice and plenty of all Things, and yet your Expences were less than they were before, because you would not suffer your Servants to cheat you, as they us'd to do. You did not think it beneath you, to see that your Liveries should be new, and chang'd every Year, to prevent their Abuses, who made them serve beyond the limited time, to put the Money into their own Pockets.

So that all your People begun to have so great a Respect for your Reign, that it was now no more a Question, whether *your Majesty* should go your self to the Palace to see Edicts register'd. You thought it enough to send them by any body next at hand; a Thing which will astonish Posterity, considering what I have here before said: But it was your Reputation that did all this, and you made your self obey'd, without using the least Rigour.

When Things are once settled upon a good Foot, they will then go well of themselves, without requiring much Pain about 'em: Which ought to teach all People whoever they be, to put their Affairs into good Order and Method; without which they can never go well. This likewise must be done at first, and as soon as Men have any employment; for if they stay till they find their Business goes ill, then the case will be the same, as it is with neglected Buildings that
are

are falling into decay; for by not putting in one single Stone in time, they perhaps come to be so past all Repair, that of necessity they must be pull'd down and new built, to the great Charge and Prejudice of the Owner. How much therefore is every Man concern'd to be a good Husband?

Your Majesty, having concluded the Peace, made Three Marshals of France, the Marquess *Bellefonds*, de *Crequi*, and *Humières*. The French Gentry, who were always pleas'd with being in Arms, having now nothing to do on the Frontiers, asked *your Majesty* leave to go to the Relief of *Candy*, which had a long time been besieg'd by the *Turks*: *Your Majesty* gave them leave, and appointed the Duke of *Feuillade* to be their Commander in chief. But because the *Venetians* did not do their part in assisting the French to raise the Siege, they were never the better for those Succours. The *Venetian* General fell out with the Duke of *Feuillade*, who so despis'd the General, that he often affronted him to his Face. The French return'd without doing any thing that was considerable, so that the *Turks* hop'd to be Masters of the Town in a short time.

Notwithstanding the Discouragements given by the Duke of *Feuillade*, the Relief of the Place was of such importance to all *Christendom*, and so much desir'd by *your Majesty*, that you sent the Duke of *Navailles* with some regular Troops, convoy'd by a Squadron of your Fleet, commanded by the Duke of *Beaufort*. The Duke of *Navailles* landed his Troops, nor-

withstanding the continual Fire the *Turks* made with their Canon. As soon as he had rested his Forces, and sent out to view the *Turkish* Camp, they made so brisk a Salley, that all gave way before 'em : But a *Turkish* Magazine of Powder by chance taking Fire, and the *French* thinking it a Mine sprung on purpose, they were so frighted, that they retreated. The *Turks* perceiving their Fear, charg'd them, and cut off some of their Heads, which so increas'd the Confusion of the rest, that several Persons of note were kill'd ; of whom the only Son of Marechal *de Faber* was one, because he was never seen after the Fight, nor found among the Dead, nor was the Duke of *Beaufort* ever heard of, who very imprudently went a Shore, against the Duty of an Admiral, which is to fight at Sea only, and never to quit his Ship, unless it be when 'tis ready to sink. This Expedition having had no better Success than *Feuillade's*, you gave *Navailles* but an ill reception, which made those that were present in the Action, lay all the Fault of what had happen'd upon him ; tho' it did not appear there was any Reason to blame the Duke, since 'tis impossible for a General to foresee such an Accident as this was, or to rally Troops seiz'd with a pannick Fear. But it being difficult to justify a Man's self at Court, especially when a Minister is at his Back, or he is not well with the Ladies, *Navailles* was ordered to retire.

The Place held out but a little while longer ; but it was so shatter'd and beaten with the Canon, that the *Turks* were forc'd to rebuild it. There hath not been known a more memorable Siege,

Siege, wherein ever pass'd more warm or braver Actions: None can compare with it for the length of the Siege, or for the Number of Men kill'd on either Side: For it lasted many Years, the Besiegers lost before it a Hundred and Twenty Thousand Men, and the Besieg'd near Thirty Eight Thousand.

The Grand Signior was not at all pleas'd with the succours *your Majesty* lent the *Venetians*, and therefore sent a Chiaous to expostulate the Business, and to renew the Treaty of Commerce that had still been between the Two Nations: but *your Majesty* had too much Courage to follow the Example of some of your Predecessors, who suffer'd *Sultans*, sometimes to send them rough Complements; for you silenc'd the Chiaous, as soon as ever he begun to talk higher than became him.

Notwithstanding the Peace which *your Majesty* settled in *Europe*, by the last Treaty concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*; the Duke of *Lorrain* daily went on arming, because he thought those Potentates who were against it, yet would not suffer him to be quite ruin'd. That which encourag'd him, was the *Dutch*, who were become Rich and Powerful, did no longer keep any Measures or comply with *your Majesty*. *Van Beningen* often spoke of the Strength of the united Provinces, intimating, that they could not suffer *your Majesty* to disturb the Peace of their Neighbours: His boldness came to that height, that he caus'd a Medal to be stamp'd, alluding to the Miracle of *Josuah's* stopping the Course of the Sun; thereby designing to pique *your Majesty*,

who had taken the Sun for your Device, and knew that *Van Beningen's* Name was *Josuah* : It was plain, that he meant he had stop'd your Course, by the Treaty he had oblig'd you to make. In the Medal (which was very well done) was his own Picture, about it were these *Latin* Words, *in conspectu meo stetit Sol*. From whence the Duke of *Lorrain* concluded, he might venture to provoke you. But your Majesty having receiv'd notice of what the Duke did, you sent to tell him that if he were not Wiser, he would find himself deceiv'd ; and if he forc'd you once more to seize upon his Country, he should never come into it again : You therefore requir'd him presently to disarm, and that you allow'd him but Six Weeks time for the doing it.

This Message sent in such plain and imperative Terms, astonish'd the Duke. Nevertheless, endeavouring to cover his ill Intentions under a specious pretence, he told your Majesty he was not yet secure against the Elector *Palatin*, who from time to time made Incursions upon his Frontiers, and therefore pray'd you to accommodate the Business. Your Majesty knew very well it was but a feign'd Excuse ; however, because what he demanded seem'd but Just, your Majesty sent an Act of Guarranty both to him, and to the Elector *Palatin* ; whereby you promis'd to aid either, in case any one of them should presume to break the Treaty made between 'em.

The Elector *Palatine* acquiesc'd presently ; so that the Duke, having now nothing more to pretend, was forc'd to obey you.

Your

Your Majesty, seeing no appearance of any Broyls on that side, desir'd nothing more, than to be reveng'd on the *Dutch*, whose Insolence you could not digest. The Marquess *Louvooy*, that wish'd for nothing but War, press'd you to it, by representing to you the Ingratitude of those People, who had so particular an Obligation to you ; not mentioning what they ow'd to *Lewis XIII.* and to *Henry IV.* your Father and Grandfather, without whose Assistance they had never been able to make Head against the House of *Austria* : But had they had no more to do, than to shew they were Ungrateful, it had not been difficult ; for whatever Obligation one State may have to another, yet no People are bound to put a Rope about their Necks. They therefore had done nothing, but what might by honest Policy be justify'd, when they hinder'd you from conquering the rest of *Flanders*. But the Case was not the same as to those other Causes of Complaint you had against them, and for which no body can excuse 'em.

Whatever was the Cause, *your Majesty* positively resolv'd to make the *Dutch* repent, as soon as you could find an Opportunity. You commanded me to fill your Coffers, which by your late prodigious Expences were quite drain'd, tho' your Revenues had been considerably augmented, and many extraordinary Courses had been taken, that rais'd a great deal of Money.

But I must confess, I did *your Majesty* but ill Service, in the Business of enquiring who were Gentlemen, and who were not ; and if ever the like Inquisition be made in your Reign, or any

of your Successors, care ought to be taken to follow my Example: For Affairs of such a Nature must not be put into the Hands of *Partizans*, whose only Business being to get Money, persecute true Gentlemen who have none to give 'em, and substitute Plowmen in their Places, if they have ready Money to buy the Priviledge they have to declare whom they please Noble. This is an Abuse not to be suffer'd, and which will lose *your Majesty* the Love of your Gentry, when they have just Reason to complain, that the Persecution they suffer, is not to discover who are Ignoble and no Gentlemen; but to pick the Pockets of those who really are so. It is much better such an Inquisition should be made by your Attorney-general and his Substitutes, and that you should appoint Receivers, into whose Hands the Fines of such as are found and condemn'd to be no Gentlemen should be paid, and by them brought into *your Majesty's* Treasury. If this Course were taken, *your Majesty* can never be reproached, with delivering up Widows and Orphans to Blood-Suckers; but all you do will appear Just; then you will find a great many Gentlemen of a new Impression, who owe their Gentility to their Money. So that after having bought a Quality which doth not belong to 'em, 'tis but reasonable to make 'em pay something more for their Usurpation, because *your Majesty* is oblig'd to punish all those, who make use of Ill means to obtain their Ends.

The Command *your Majesty* gave me to fill your Coffers, made me think of an Edict which appear'd profitable to the Publick, and really is
so,

so, if it be seriously consider'd. It was to establish a Controul upon all Acts and Proceedings in Law Courts, to prevent the Tricks and Cheats heretofore practis'd in them by Antedates : And tho perhaps it might not keep Sergeants from playing the Knave, because by this Controul they might render their Declarations and Falsifications more Authentick ; yet all imaginable Care was taken against it, by obliging them to get Witnesses to testifie all they did ; which I think was a certain Remedy against any ill that could happen by Antedates. *Your Majesty* finding it very Reasonable and Just, establish'd this Controul throughout the Kingdom, tho' in many Places it met with opposition ; whether from Judges that did not like it, for Reasons I do not understand, or that it displeas'd some particular Persons, whose Genius did not reach so far, as to understand of what consequence things are to them : But *your Majesty* was forc'd to do them good against their Wills.

That which I thought very strange, was, that the Parliament of *Tboulouse* were in this guilty of a Fault ; for which, tho' *your Majesty* pardon'd the whole Body ; yet you thought fit to punish the Particular Member who was most culpable ; that the punishment of one might serve for Example to the rest ; there would otherwise be still Danger of relapsing into the like Offence. The Matter of Fact was this ; That Parliament had given Judgment that a Horse should be restor'd, which had been sold for the Payment of a Fine, Order'd by the Edict to be levy'd on such as offended against it. Now this was a very insolent

lent Sentence, because it did indeed nullifie the Validity of *your Majesty's* Edict, or at least so little regarded it, that it was in a manner to say, no body should submit to it unless he pleas'd. But seeing in such Cases, nothing ought to be done imprudently, lest *your Majesty's* Authority be made use of to no purpose; I caus'd the first President to be told, who had not medled in the Business, that if the Sentence they had pass'd were not revok'd, they must expect to be all Fin'd; which it was his Interest, as President, to prevent, and on whom the Fault would be laid, tho' he were Innocent. I wrote likewise to your Attorney General, and to your Advocates, without whose Knowledge the Sentence had pass'd, that they should take better heed another time to do their Duty; and having a little reprov'd 'em, the first President assembled the Parliament in his own House, where the Farmer-general of *your Majesty's* Demmeans was by my Order present: He desir'd to speak, and the Assembly having given him leave, he told them, That no Reparation could be made for the Fault they had committed, but by a Revocation of the Sentence that had been given. I was indeed desirous to spare *your Majesty* the trouble of punishing them: Beside, when a Minister can save the Appearances, and not bring his Master's Authority into dispute, 'tis Prudence in him so to do.

The Parliament would fain have shifted off this Affront, by proposing many Expedients, whereby they thought to have saved their Credit. But the Farmer stuck close to his Proposition,
so

so that the Parliament, to avoid the punishment due to them, revok'd the Sentence they had past.

I did not acquaint *your Majesty* with this Business till it was ended, because when I took upon me the Administration of your Revenue, you declar'd you would trust to my Fidelity in all things relating to my Function. And indeed, whoever you chuse to execute that Office, his Authority must be absolute ; otherwise, he can never discharge the Duty of his Place. *Your Majesty* in Affairs of this Nature, should consult none but such as are of your Council ; for if you call in Judges of Courts to advise you, I dare say you will be sufficiently abused. Lawyers understand nothing of the Business, but will be sure to perplex it ; they will start a Thousand Difficulties about the Point of a Needle, which by all means is to be avoided, because in the *Finances*, all the Secret is Expedition.

To prove it, I will mind *your Majesty* of that which I suppose you cannot but remember : You made Monsieur *de la Reinie* Governour of *Paris*, and that this great Capital City of your Kingdom, (which for its Beauty, Grandeur and Wealth, deserves to be the Metropolis of the whole World) might be better govern'd than formerly it had been ; I say, Monsieur *Reinie*, who by his Place, was to have the Particular Inspection and Oversight of all that past in it, would have oppos'd my requiring Security for a Duty belonging to *your Majesty*, which was to be paid for Scoops to clear Boats of Water :
He

He fancy'd, because it concern'd the Fish-Women, and other such clamorous People, it would raise a Tumult. His Fear was not to be blam'd, because he meant well; but he was mistaken, for no body stirr'd, and *your Majesty* had the Duty quietly paid.

I could quote many Examples of this nature whereby *your Majesty* would see, that such Peoples Understanding reacheth no farther than their Trade; and the reason is, because their Imaginations are false, they fancy Bugbears in every thing, and fight with their own Shadows; they think that in your *Finances*, 'tis as in a Law-Suit, a Man ought to be always upon his Guard, against the Subtelties of a litigious Petty-fogger. They deceive themselves more than others, and rather than they will depart from their Maxims, they will consent the Government should be turn'd upside down.

Your Majesty approved of all I did, relating to the Parliament of *Thoulouse*. You sent a Letter under the Privy Seal to displace the President of the Bench, who past the first Sentence; and gave a Pension of Two Thousand Livers, to the Premier President who past the Second: For Reward and Punishment ought to go an even Pace, to encourage those that do Well, and to terrify those that do Ill; otherwise there would be no such thing as Emulation or Restraint, both absolutely necessary to make a State flourish.

Yours hath flourish'd so much, that the very found of your Name kept the Prince of *Lorrain* from being elected King of *Poland*, which otherwise he might have been. That Nation chose a
Sovereign

Soveraign contrary to their usual Custom, and against the Constitution of the Kingdom, which they resolv'd rather not to observe, than discontent *your Majesty*, who would have been displeased, if the choice had fallen upon that Prince.

About this time, *your Majesty* appear'd very Pensive, and I taking the Liberty to ask why you were so; you did me the Honour to open your Heart, and tell me there was something a brewing against the Peace of your Kingdom; and that there was a Man whom you did not yet know, but whose Description had been sent you out of *England*, that went into all Courts, where under pretence of preserving the reformed Religion, he stirr'd up all Princes against you. That out of *England* he was gone to the Northern Kings, to perswade them to enter into the triple League. That this deserv'd Exemplary Punishment; but you knew not how to take this Fellow and make an Example of him, because you thought no Prince would deliver him up, and therefore you resolv'd to surprize and take him by force; which appear'd impossible, every one being jealous of his Liberty, it would expose those whom you employ'd in it to too much danger. Beside, you said, you knew not whom to trust, in an Affair of such Consequence that ought to be kept Secret, and which you had communicated to no body but my self.

I ask'd *your Majesty*, whether the Man of whom you spoke were a *French-Man*; you told me he was, and it was that which made you so very angry. I could not blame your Resentment;

ment ; but said, my Opinion was, that *your Majesty* could do well to acquaint Monsieur *Turenne* with the Business, who knew better than any body, who were Men of Courage and Resolution ; and that he could chuse such, as would undertake to seize this Man, and bring him into *France*, or if that could not be done, they should kill him. *Your Majesty* said, you would not have him kill'd, because before you punish'd him, you would willingly know his Confederates, believing he had many ; but that in every thing else, you would follow my Counsel, which you approv'd of, because you were confident that Monsieur *Turenne* would be faithful to you, tho' he were a *Hugonot*, for he was not converted till about two or three Months after.

I took the Liberty to pray *your Majesty*, you would say nothing of the Business to the *Marquess de Louvoy* ; because I knew his Spleen against Monsieur *Turenne* might perhaps prevent the Design's taking Effect ; which was enough to let *your Majesty* know, I did not think Monsieur *Louvoy* so well affected to your Service, but that for his own Private Ends, he might forget the Publick Interest. *Your Majesty*, understanding what I meant, promis'd not to say a Word to any body ; but yet reprov'd me for judging so ill of my Neighbour.

Your Majesty kept your Royal Word, and said nothing of what had past to any but Monsieur *Turenne* ; who appointed Five Officers to undertake the Business. And seeing *your Majesty* knew where the Man in question was, and what he had been doing, the Officers went into *Switzerland*, where

where he had newly arriv'd; they seiz'd him as he was travelling from one Place to another, and brought him into *France*; having very prudently avoided the danger they were in if they had been taken. You put him into the Hands of Justice, to be immediately prosecuted.

This miserable Wretch was a Cittizen of *Roche*l and a *Hugonot*, and tho' he was taken as it were in the Fact, and by the Proofs against him must conclude, that what he had been doing was discover'd; yet he would not confess a Syllable, nor answer to any thing that was ask'd him; so that he was Tried and Condemn'd. When he saw that he was to dye a shameful Death, God so forsook him, that he resolv'd to kill himself; and finding some Pieces of Glass in the Dungeon where he was, he with the Glass made a shift to cut off his Privy Parts, hoping to Bleed to Death, and avoid the Punishment which he was condemn'd to suffer. His Keeper coming into the Room, and seeing him look very Pale, suspected what he had done, and found the Glass he had hid. Upon Notice given to your Judge of it, he was broke upon the Wheel within Two Hours after.

This was the end of this Miserable Man, who endeavour'd in those Courts to which he went, to cover his Crime with Zeal for Religion; and tho' People do not think they can be deceived in the Profession they make of it, because they verily believe 'tis the certain way to Salvation, especially when they have been educated in it; yet it is certain, their Religion, doth oblige them to be obedient to their Sovereign, and not to in-
stigate

stigate other Princes to make War against him; because both Divine and Humane Laws condemn it. So that we see Religion is commonly made a Cloak to cover Mens Crimes, as it was in this Case; wherein all that was done, did plainly proceed from a false Zeal, seeing it was follow'd by a desperate Action, wherein there appear'd so little of God, that he who attempted it, must necessarily be forsaken by him.

I have been a little the larger upon this Subject, the Circumstances whereof are perhaps of no such great Concern to *your Majesty*, as to deserve so particular a Relation. But I am glad of this Occasion to mind *your Majesty* of all that past; that I might at the same time tell you, the Persons employ'd by Viscount *Turenne*, did you a piece of Service great enough, to have been better consider'd by Monsieur *Louvoy*. But he being angry that this Business was done without acquainting him with it, he became so much the Officers mortal Enemy, that he caus'd them to be cashier'd one Year after another, under divers pretences, and at last treated *Brique-maut* a Collonel of Horse so ill, that to avoid his Persecution, he quitted his Country, and went to seek an Employment under the Marquess of *Brandenburg*. It is impossible that *your Majesty* should know every thing that is done in your Kingdom, having so many weighty Affairs to look after, and therefore ought not to be troubled with things of little Moment. Nevertheless, *your Majesty* being often abus'd, I desire you should know it, because it concerns your Service.

While

While this pass'd, *your Majesty* being convinc'd, that since it was the Duke of *Lorraine's* Interest to live in Amity with you, he would avoid all occasions of giving you Distast; and that he could no longer retain the Suspicion he had, that you would take his Country from him; yet instead of dealing sincerely with you, he grew jealous of your endeavouring to get his Nephew out of the Emperour's Hands, believing still it was to keep him in awe.

His Trouble was so great, that tho' the thing did not succeed; yet without considering what would follow, he begun to fortifie *Châtel*, and *Epinal*, contrary to the Treaty he had made with *your Majesty*. He was likewise so bold, as to take away the Posts upon which were plac'd *your Majesty's* Arms, for a Testimony of your Jurisdiction there, which he would by no means allow. Beside, *your Majesty* knew that he rais'd Forces in *Germany*, and that he still kept up those Regiments which he pretended to disband. *Your Majesty*, being no longer able to bear this, sent the Marquess *Fourilles* into his Country, where he miss'd but a Quarter of an Hour of taking the Duke; who, as soon as your Troops appear'd, had notice given him time enough to get on Horseback, and being conscious of what he had done, sav'd himself in the Mountains of *Voges*, where not thinking himself secure, to avoid your Displeasure, he went wandring up and down, sometimes not daring to tell who he was. A strange condition for a Prince to be brought to, who might have liv'd at his own ease, if he had been Wiser; which shews us, what difference

rence there is between the Fortune of a Wise Man and a Fool's.

Your Majesty then took Possession of his Country, which made little resistance, and having demolish'd the Places you suspected, you acquainted the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, with those just Reasons you had for what you did; because you thought he would endeavour to make the Empire jealous of you, and consequently take Arms against you. You proceeded in this manner to prevent his evil Design, and that *Europe* might not attribute that to your Ambition, which was but the Effect of your Justice. Thus all Wise and Prudent Princes use to do; for should they be silent, and not justifie themselves, the World would say, they knew themselves to be Faulty, or that they presum'd upon their Power, and would not vouchsafe to give any Account of those Actions, which might be justly suspected; especially, when they carry Two Faces, and Ambition so plainly discovers it self, that People must be blind not to see it.

The Duke, after having been some time a Fugitive, retir'd to *Collen*, where he stay'd brewing new Mischief against *Your Majesty*; and, in perfect spite to you, counsell'd the Town to receive a *Dutch* Garrison. He likewise treated with the *Spaniards*, to let them have some Regiments he had still on Foot, giving the command of them to Prince *Vaudemont* his Son, by the Princess of *Cantecroix*, to whom he would willingly have given *Lorrain*, and disinherited his Nephew.

Your

Your Majesty, who had now more mind than ever, to make War with the *Hollanders*, seeing the Duke not satisfied with what he had done, but still endeavouring to league the Princes of the Empire against you ; you sent Ministers thither to counter and oppose all his Designs ; and knowing that nothing could be a greater advantage to you, than the breaking of the Triple League, which still continu'd ; you drew near to *England*, upon pretence of visiting the Places which belong'd to you on the Sea-Coast, and when you were there, *Madam the Dutchess of Orleans*, being now not far from *England*, was so desirous to see the King her Brother, that she ask'd *your Majesty's* Leave to go thither. You could not refuse her, all Things being before concerted between you ; particularly, that when she was with her Brother, she should endeavour to draw him off from the Triple League, and perswade him to espouse your Interest. She carry'd with her a very pretty Woman called *Madam Kerouel*, who had done all she could to make *your Majesty* in Love with her ; but her Stars being averse to your liking her so well as she wish'd, she descended to content her self with the Conquest of the King of *England*, whose Weak Side was the Fair Sex. The Dutchess of *Orleans*, who knew his Constitution, had *Madam Kerouel* gloriously drest, and to make her shine the more, presented her with fine Jewels. The Dutchess took her time, when her Brother was in a good Humour, to make her Propositions. *Madam Kerouel*, by her Mistress's Order, very dextrously slides into the

Room, and promis'd the King, she would come back to him, as soon as your Sister-in-Law was return'd into *France*, if he would grant what her Mistress desir'd. Thus did this Prince sacrifice the *Dutch* to his new Passion, renounc'd the Triple League, and took new Measures with *your Majesty*, to humble that Commonwealth.

The Marquess de *Vitry*, whom at the same time you sent into *Sweden*, in the Quality of your Embassador extraordinary, prevail'd also with his *Swedish Majesty* to quit the Triple League, he being as much in Love with your Money, as the King of *England* was with Madam *Kerouel*. Every thing contributed to your good Fortune and Satisfaction. The Elector of *Collen*, who had a good while been your Friend, endeavour'd to make the *Dutch* recall the Garrison they had in the Capital City of his Electorate, which was very difficult; because the Inhabitants pretended to a greater Power there than the Elector; which is the Reason they are still jealous of him. But while this was a doing, your Sister-in-Law the Dutchess of *Orleans* dyed in an Hour's time, after she had drunk a glass of *Succory-water*. This sudden Accident, considering her Constitution, which in all appearance was very good, together with her Youth, made many suspect she did not dye a natural Death; she her self saying before she dyed, that she was poyson'd. This was thought Probable, because your Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, kept a sort of People about him, who made it their Business to make him jealous of her. *Your Majesty* did all you could to find out the Truth of the Matter: For

as you were concern'd to punish so foul a Crime, if it had been prov'd, so you had Reason to fear it might have made a Breach between *your Majesty* and the King of *England*. Beside, it was necessary to search this Business to the Bottom, to discover from whence this Poyson came, whereof the Consequences were very dangerous. Especially, when many begun to talk of the like Accidents in *Paris*, where People every Day dyed suddenly, which could not be imputed to any Natural Cause.

Your Majesty caus'd the Dutches's Body to be open'd by your Surgeons, your Physicians were likewise sent for, to declare their Opinions in the Presence of the *English* Ambassador, whom you had also desir'd to be there. But tho' they narrowly inspected all her Entrails, they said, they saw nothing upon which to ground a Suspicion of her being poyson'd; but it will be very difficult, to make Posterity believe the Truth of their Report.

Whatever was the Cause of her Death, yet the King of *England* was satisfied with what *your Majesty* did to make a Discovery of the Truth, and continued his Resolutions to humble the *Hollanders*. Your Brother the Duke of *Orleans* being now a Widdower, *your Majesty* thought of marrying him again into *Germany*, to secure to your self the Friendship of some Prince of the Empire. The Elector *Palatin* had a Daughter very fit for your Purpose, and *your Majesty* making her your Choice, you negotiated the Match with her Father. There was but one Obstacle against it, which was difference of Religion;

gion; but that Rub being quickly remov'd, both sides agree'd upon the Marriage Terms.

The Bishop of *Munster* likewise promis'd to joyn with your Majesty in abasing the *Dutch*; while you set upon them on your side, he design'd to attack them on his; so that they should hardly be able to defend themselves against both. But in such a Case, I do not comprehend the Policy of a little Prince, who is so blind to believe, he shall share with a greater in the Spoils of an Enemy, whose wealth is so great, that every Body envies, and is still contriving to get it. They must come to an Account sooner or later, where he that is strongest will be sure to give Law to the weaker.

I find this still practis'd, tho' 'tis dangerous for a weak Prince, to interest one that is very Powerful in his Affairs. When the Princes to whom appertain'd the Succession of the States of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, call'd in to their Assistance the House of *Austria*, the Emperour seiz'd upon the Succession, and could never be brought to restore it, but by down right Blows. For an Example of another kind, let what past in the War I am now about to speak of be remember'd; Would the Emperour ever part with *Philippbourg*, tho' he promis'd before he took it, that as soon as he was Master of it, he would restore it to the right Owner, who is the Bishop of *Spire*? 'Tis great weakness in any Prince, to depend upon one that is greater than himself. *France* is not freer than others, from Injustice of this kind; so that Princes, who are not very Potent, ought to have a Care how they trust themselves

selves with those that can talk to them like Masters, and that make their own Interest the only Rule of their Actions.

The *Dutch*, when they saw themselves threaten'd on all sides, were in such a Consternation that may better be imagin'd than describ'd. There was likewise such a Division and Confusion among 'em, that the Consequences of it were more to be fear'd, than the Danger wherewith they were threaten'd from abroad. They had not yet conferr'd any Authority upon the Prince of *Orange*, because applying themselves wholly to Trade, they thought of nothing but making it flourish in all Parts of the World; so that their Power and Strength was reduc'd only to that which they had at Sea, taking little or no Care to keep up any Forces at Land.

John de Wit, Pensionary of *Holland*, was at the Head of the Common-Wealth, a Man very well vers'd in the Government of it. But tho' he had many good Qualities, which his greatest Enemies cannot deny him; yet he was guilty of that Fault whereof I have already spoken; which was, to prefer his own Private Interest before the Publick. He resolutely oppos'd the Prince of *Orange's* being invested with any Power or Authority, because his Father had been ill treated by the Prince's Father, who kept him for some time in Prison. But seeing no State can long subsist without credit and Reputation, and that which this Commonwealth had, consisted only in their Riches and Strength at Sea; some of the Wisest Heads propos'd restoring to the Prince of *Orange*, the same Power and Authority which

his Predecessors formerly had in the Government. The Reason they gave for it was, That they ought to have a Sovereign, whose Name carry'd some Stroke in Foreign Countries, where *de Wit* was known but to some particular Persons, who look'd upon him as a very good Merchant, but no great States-Man. That the Prince of *Orange* was an otherguess Man, whose Ancestors brave Actions spoke for him; that he was near of Kin to most of the Princes of *Germany*, which would facilitate making Allyances with them. That he was Nephew to the King of *England*, which deserv'd their Consideration in the present Juncture; the Prince being thereby capable of warding off *England's* Blows, and of managing their Interests.

These Reasons at last prevalling with the Major Part, supported by the Prince, and by all those that were Friends to his Family; he was declared Stadholder; that is to say, Captain General and Governour of the Country. *de Wit*, who openly oppos'd it, because the Commonwealth, upon the Death of *William II.* had pass'd a Decree, that those Places and Powers which that Prince enjoy'd, and which consisted in being Stadholder and great Admiral, should never more for the Future be conferr'd upon one single Person. *De Wit*, I say, seeing himself like to be discarded, us'd his Endeavours to have this Decree executed, and to cross the Prince all he could.

The Prince of *Orange*, on his Part, made it his Business to destroy *de Wit's* Cabals, whom he hated the more for being so Insolent, as to think himself

himself the Prince's Equal ; and he had Reason, for there is nothing more provoking to a Person of great Birth, than to meet with a Minister, who so much forgets himself, as not to pay his Superior the Respect that is due to him. 'Tis what is unpardonable, and in any Government but a Republick, he that is Supream ought to take notice of it, and in a prudent Manner punish it ; if he do not, the evil Consequences of it may fall on himself ; for if a Person of Quality be Injur'd or Affronted, and his Prince will not take cognizance of it, nor resent it ; he himself becomes the Object of the injur'd Person's Hatred ; who because he hath not Right done him, may perhaps stir up great Troubles, which a little thing will do, and the least neglect sometimes hath very ill consequences. A Prince, nevertheless, is oblig'd to take his Minister's part against all the World, otherwise no body would care to serve him, especially in such a Post, wherein 'tis impossible for a Man not to create Enemies. But then a Prince ought to weigh things, and do according to what Justice requires of him ; he ought to make a right Judgment of what his Minister doth, and to discern whether he acts out of Zeal for his Service ; or abounding in his own Sense, doth things out of mere Humour and Caprice.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Containing that which pass'd from the War of Holland, to the Treaty of Nimmeguen.

THese Reflexions I have last made, having interrupted the Course of the Relation I was giving your Majesty of your great Actions, I now begin again where I left off. After you had, as I have already said, declar'd War against the Dutch, you quickly invaded their Country. They had recalled their Troops from *Collen*, into which, in their Room, enter'd Three Thousand Men of the Circle of *Westphalia*. Your Army was in all Respects very Formidable; so Brave and Numerous a one had not been seen a long time; and to shew your Power, the Prince of *Condé* was at the Head of another almost as great, besides a flying Camp which was commanded by the Count *Chamilly*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* had no mind to stay for you in *Collen*, he went out of it the last Year, for you had sent some Troops to Winter in that Country, into whose Hands he was afraid to fall. He retir'd to *Francfort*, where he begun to make new Levies, believing that this War made so near the Empire, would create you so many Enemies, that he should quickly meet with an Opportunity to shew his ill Will to your Majesty. But nothing could stand before you; in less than a Month, you took Forty fortify'd Towns, one of which could here-
tofore

tofore have held out a whole Year, against a considerable Army. But your Conquests, I say, rais'd you new Enemies; the Emperour sent an Army against you, to which the Marquess *Brandenburg* joyn'd his Troops. They pretended to make the Princes of the Empire repent their so far taking your part, as to let you have Winter Quarters in their Country, but all they could do, was but to augment *your Majesty's* Glory, since instead of repulsing you, Viscount *Turenne* drove them into the Country of *Mark*, where he quarter'd all the Winter.

A little before this great Action, your Troops past the *Rhine* by Swimming, which caus'd such a Consternation among your Enemies, that you were within a little of being Master of *Amsterdam*. But a Burgh-Master of the Town, by giving Counsel to open the Sluces, and let in the Sea, rather than submit to any other Sovereign, saved the City. Nevertheless, being reduc'd to extremity, they sent *your Majesty* Propositions of Peace, which the Prince of *Conde*, who had been Wounded in passing the *Rhine*, advis'd you to accept. All your Generals were of the same Opinion, and their reason for it was; because the Emperour and the Elector of *Brandenburg* having already declar'd themselves against you, there was no doubt, but the whole Empire, alarm'd by your Conquests, would likewise follow their Example. But Marquess *Lawboy*, who pretended that he alone knew more than all these great Men put together, perswaded *your Majesty* that the *Dutch* were brought so low, that they could never rise again; and therefore

therefore you should accept of no other Composition, than their acknowledging themselves to be your Subjects: To which they must certainly yield, because they were not able to bear the payment of what the Princes (who declared for them) demanded for the Succours they lent them. He perswaded *your Majesty* to strike while the Iron was hot, and not to take other measures by making Peace; and if *your Majesty* did let slip this Opportunity, you could never while you liv'd expect the like.

To make good what he said, he pretended he had Intelligence from several Persons in the Country: And *your Majesty* confiding in him, because all the secret Dispatches went through his Hands, sent back the *Dutch* Embassadors, who were come into your Camp to offer you very good Conditions. And tho' they came again a few Days after with much better Terms, yet your Minister, who was not for Peace, because his private Gain was so great by continuing the War, kept things from coming to any Conclusion. The Inhabitants of the *Hague* in the mean time Massacred *John de Witt*, who had sent those Embassadors to you, but they were recal'd soon after his Death.

This should teach Men never to refuse good Terms in hopes of better; and that it is not prudence to make an Enemy desperate. Beside, Affairs sometimes change their face in an instant, and therefore we ought not to let things cool, but come to a Conclusion while they are warm. Which should have been done in this case, because *your Majesty* had declared you begun

gun this War only to humble the *Hollanders*. You sufficiently humbled them, in forcing them to offer you so much as they did ; and in not pretending to more, you had made it appear, that Correction, not Conquest, was your design. But proceeding so far as you did, procured you new Enemies, so that you see how much you were obliged to Monsieur *Louvois*. I am confident that the great Hatred he bore me, was one reason why he gave *your Majesty* such ill Counsel. He foreseeing the continuance of the War would be prodigiously Expensive, and consequently that in a little time I should not be able to find Money enough, to defray the vast Charge *your Majesty* would be put to, to maintain it ; I should then be disgraced, and lose the Honour of your Favour.

But this was not the only fault Monsieur *Louvois* committed this Campaign, it was he that was the cause why the City of *Amsterdam* did not open its Gates to *your Majesty*. For after you had put a Garrison into *Utrecht*, the Marquess of *Rochefort* was sent to Command there. This General of a new impression, was guilty of so great a fault in not seizing upon *Mayden*, that *your Majesty's* goodness is to be admir'd, you did not punish him with the loss of his Head. You know the reasons why Monsieur *Louvois* protected this General ; they were the same with those that made him so bold, as to desire *your Majesty* to make Madam *Fresnoy* a Lady of the Bed-Chamber, to the Queen. She was Wife to one of the Marquess's Deputies, and he the Son of an Apothecary, by the Daughter of a little Deputy in the
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Post-Office. When all the World knows, that Persons of the greatest Quality, even Dutchesse, would have thought it a great Honour to have had the place. I wonder he was not asham'd to recommend a Woman of no better Reputation to a place so near a Wise and Virtuous Princess, such things are never to be pardon'd, but give me an occasion to admire *your Majesty's* goodness.

Your Majesty's refusing, by Monsieur *Louvoys's* perswasion, to accept of a Peace; put all *Europe* into Combustion. The *Spaniards*, who were more concerned than the Emperour or the Electour of *Brandenbourg*, to keep you from Conquering *Holland*; took the Field to favour the Prince of *Orange's* Designs. They joyn'd with him, and had you not been so cautious as to gain Count *Marsin*, who Commanded the *Spaniards*, they had defeated the Duke of *Duras*, who Commanded your Flying Camp after Monsieur *Cbamilly's* Death. But *Marsin* purposely kept the *Spaniards* so long from passing the River *Roer*, that he gave the Duke time enough to save himself.

A Naval Combat accompanied these great Events, to *your Majesty's* Glory; for your Ships which joyn'd the *English* Fleet came so seasonably in to their Assistance, that otherwise the *English* had been beaten. The *Dutch* who did not think *your Majesty* was so much to be fear'd at Sea as by Land, were surpriz'd with this Action, which gave them another Idea of your Power, and was one of the reasons why they made such Applications to *your Majesty* for a Peace. They saw they were like to speed no better

better with you at Sea than at Land, and therefore desir'd an Accommodation, rather than expect uncertainties that might deceive them.

The end of this Campaign prov'd more successful to *your Majesty*, than the beginning. The Enemy besieg'd *Charleroy*, when *Montall* the Governour of it was gone to *Tongres*, which he thought they design'd to attack: But he got again into *Charleroy* with a Squadron of Horse, and made the Enemy raise the Siege.

All these happy Successes made some envy *your Majesty*, whom you had no design to molest. Many took part with the Enemy against you, but the Duke of *Bavaria* resolv'd to stand Neuter, and would not declare against you; but employ'd the Money which *your Majesty* gave him, to Levy new Troops. The Duke of *Hanover* promis'd you to do the same, but as I shall presently shew, he was (much against his will) kept from making good his word.

Your Majesty having thus order'd your Affairs in that Country; as soon as the Spring came on, you laid Siege to *Mastricht*, which you took in thirteen Days after opening the Trenches; tho' the Enemy look'd upon it as a Rock that would break all your Designs. From thence you went into *Lorraine*, to hinder the Duke of that Name, who joyn'd with your Enemies, from drawing that Country into his Party. You caus'd the Capital City to be fortify'd, which was not then Tenable, and after you your self had seen the Works begun, you went into *Alsacia* to give such Orders, as in the present juncture you thought

thought necessary. *Your Majesty* took in some places there, which properly belong'd to the Inhabitants themselves, according to certain Priviledges obtain'd from their Emperours; and tho' after the Treaty of *Munster*, you did not think fit to meddle with them; yet your safety now obliging you to take another Course, you presently caused them to be demolish'd.

It concern'd *your Majesty* to do it; for the Emperour had a second time sent an Army into the Field, to oppose your Desigus. Viscount *Turenne* fac'd 'em, and twice offer'd 'em Battel; but *Montecuculi*, who Commanded the Emperour's Army, declined Fighting, and Encamp'd so strongly, that *Turenne* could not force him to an Engagement. They lay observing one another, both endeavouring to gain the Bishop of *Wirtsburg*, who had not yet declar'd himself. The Bridge which he had upon the *Mein* was not to be surpris'd, because it was so near the Capital City, and was of considerable advantage to both Parties. Monsieur *Turenne* thinking himself sure of the Bishop, because he had promis'd him to let no body pass, which was all that Monsieur *Turenne* desir'd; he provided Magazines at *Waxtheim*, in case he should be oblig'd to stay there any time; but when he thought himself safe, relying on the Promise which had been made him, the Bishop treated with *Montecuculi*, who pass'd the Bridge, took *Waxtheim* and all your Provisions.

It requir'd extraordinary Conduct and Prudence in General *Turenne*, to get out of the Straits, whereinto this breach of Faith had brought

brought him. Nevertheless, like a great Captain, long experience'd in the Trade of War, he Posted himself very advantageously, and made a new collection of Provisions, hoping to break *Montecuculi's* Measures. But the five Villages, wherein were his new Magazines, being all at a time set on fire, and burnt, he was now in a worse condition than before, by the Bishop of *Wirtsburg's* Treachery.

I cannot conceal from your Majesty, what was said in your Army upon this strange Accident. I dare not say, I believe what I have to tell you ; it is so terrible and surprizing, that you your self cannot but tremble with indignation to hear it. But tho' perhaps I should do well not to speak of it, yet how can I keep from your Majesty, that which you are so much concern'd to know ? All your Army believ'd, those Villains, who burnt your Magazines in the five Villages, were employ'd by Monsieur *Louvois*, because his hatred to *Turenne* increas'd daily. That which caus'd the suspicion, was this Great Man's saying at that very time ; the Enemies which your Majesty had out of your Kingdom were not so much to be feared, as those you had in it.

Your Majesty seized upon the City of *Treuer*, whose Elector had boldly enough declared against you, by delivering up to your Enemies *Coblentz* and *Hermesstein*. *Montecuculi* past the Rhine at the first of those places, and having joyn'd the Prince of *Orange*, they laid Siege to *Bonne* : A place, tho' not very considerable, yet they were three weeks before they could make

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themselves Masters of it. *Your Majesty* knows the Reason, why you suffered the Place to be taken, without striking a blow to relieve it; and if credit may be given to the Officers of your Army, and to some others, who have the Honour to be near *your Majesty*; this was another trick of Monsieur *Louvois*'s, to keep Viscount *Turenne*'s Reputation from growing too great.

The Campaign ended with making the Bishop of *Wurtsburg* repent his breach of Faith, *Turenne* ruining a very fine Castle of his, having first burnt all the Moveables and Furniture, without suffering the Souldiers to plunder or take any thing, that the Bishop might not underhand buy his Goods again of them; who generally sell what they get, for the tenth part of its value, and then the Bishop would have been no great loser; for in truth he could not be punished enough, because when such Men as he break their words, they deserve to be very severely dealt with. But it must likewise be confest, that Monsieur *Turenne* on his part was too credulous, to believe a Person that in respect of his Birth was not to be trusted, and who might be presumed to be rather *your Majesty*'s Enemy, than your Friend.

Not long after this, the Elector *Palatin* turn'd his back upon you, under pretence that he suffered as much by your Troops, as if he had been your declared Enemy: Which was not in *your Majesty*'s Power to redress, because the Imperialists were privately trucking to have *Phillipsburg* deliver'd to them. So that there

was

was a necessity of drawing your Forces near to cover it. The taking of *Bonne*, and the Prince of *Orange's* taking of *Narden*, through the Cowardise of the Governour, for which he was exemplarily punish'd; were two Misfortunes that contributed very much to the Elector *Palatine's* deserting you: For you were forced to abandon *Utrecht*, and the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who Commanded on that side, in the place of *Marquess Rochefort*, whose incapacity obliged you to quit that Frontier, had much ado to save himself and his Army. But having done it, contrary to the Opinion of many, who concluded he must needs suffer very much, in so long a March as he had to make, he took care to guard that which is called *French-Flanders*, upon which the *Spaniards* seemed to have a design.

While this past, the King of *Sweden's* Mediation was accepted by all Parties, to end this great difference. There was a Congress at *Collen*, where they met from all parts; but the Preliminaries, as is usual in such Cases, being very long; there was no appearance things would be soon Accommodated. In the mean time, your Fleet still joyn'd with the *English*, beat the *Dutch* three several times this Campaign, and was so far from losing the Reputation you had got the Year before, that your Fleet very much increas'd it, by the Courage and Resolution it shew'd in those three Naval Combats: There was nothing decisive on either side, and because your Conquests gave cause of jealousy to your Allies, the *English* begun to think of leaving you.

But *your Majesty* did all that was Humanly possible to be done, to preserve their Alliance. You provided a Wife for the Duke of *York*, presumptive Heir to the Crown of *England*. This Prince had so many Mistresses in five or six Months time, that one would have thought he would have Marry'd all the World. The first he had, was *Mademoiselle d'Elbœuff*, upon which account, he sent my Lord *Peterborough* to *Paris*, who conferr'd with me about it. According to the Orders I receiv'd from *your Majesty*; I was very desirous that the business should take effect; because I had a great value for that Princess: But my Lord *Sunderland*, the then *English* Embassador, and my Lord *Peterborough*, falling out, the mis-understanding between them, broke off the Match.

After *Madam d'Elbœuf*, the Princess *Mary Anne* of *Wurtemberg* came upon the Stage; and the Business was carry'd on so far, that *your Majesty* Signed a Contract with Commissioners, deputed by the Duke of *York* for that purpose. I had Orders to write to *Madam* the Dutcheß of *Wurtemberg*, to come and be present at her Daughter's Marriage; but when every body thought the business sure, it quite broke off, upon some ill Things reported of the Lady; her Enemies pretended she had certain defects which I never perceiv'd. Whatever it were that was said of the Princess, a mean Person whom she had disoblighd, was thought to be the Author of it. So true is it, that a very little Enemy may sometimes do a great deal of Mischief, against which the best fence and remedy, is
never

never prepenſly and with ſet purpoſe, to do to any body the leaſt harm. A Rule ſeldom obſerved by Princes and Great Men, who take ſuch a liberty of ſaying what they pleaſe, that many times they let fall words, which they would give a great deal to recall. But when an Injury is once done, it can never be undone, and wounds given by the Tongue are incurable. 'Tis an Offence which Brave Men will reſent the longeſt day of their Life, and will certainly be revenged, unleſs God turn their Hearts. But thanks be to God, this is a Vice whereof *your Maſteſty* is not guilty; for as you ſay little, ſo you always ſpeak to the purpoſe, and without ever reflecting upon your Neighbour. To your Honour be it ſpoke, I can alſo ſay, that you know not what 'tis to be Angry. I have lived at Court full Forty Years, and Five and Twenty of them, I have had the Honour to be near *your Maſteſty*, in which time I can ſafely ſwear, I never ſaw you but once a little mov'd. It was when *Monſieur Werthamont*, who, tho' a ſevere Sentence had paſt upon him for ſeveral Crimes, was yet ſo bold, as to come into your Preſence. I obſerved *your Maſteſty* grew Red with Anger, and the Tone of your Voice when you told him he ſhould come no more to Court, was not like that wherewith you uſed to give your Commands at other times.

The Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary Anne* failing, for the Reaſon I have hinted. That of *Mademoiſelle Crequi*, who hath ſince married the Duke of *Tremouille*, came next to be talk'd of. It was ſaid her Father was very Rich, and

had made his Fortune while he was Embassadour at *Rome*; where others use to undo themselves. But the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Crequi* being reſolv'd not to give ſo much, as a Match of ſuch advantage for their Daughter requir'd, they loſt by their Covetouſneſs, that which others would have bought with their Blood.

The Duke of *York* at laſt pitch'd upon the Princeſs of *Modena*; to whom Monſieur the Cardinal her Uncle had left a Hundred Thouſand Franks, which I had in my Hands. This Marriage was without any difficulty concluded, to the Satisfaction of both Parties.

From what I have ſaid, the Leſſon which a Prince ought to learn, is, that he ſhould ſtill ſo well manage his Affairs, as never through weakneſs to do any thing unworthy of his Birth. For tho' *Mademoiſelle Crequi* were a Woman of Quality, yet ſhe was not a Perſon ſuitable and conſiderable enough for a Prince, who was ſo near ſtepping into the Throne of *England*. But yet I know, without looking very far back into the Hiſtory of that Nation, *Henry the 8th.* Marry'd two Wives, who were not of a better Family, perhaps of not ſo good: But there is a great deal of difference between what Love doth, and that which is done with deſign, and after mature deliberation. The two Caſes are quite different, and tho' there may be faults in both, yet whoever doth an imprudent thing deliberately and wilfully, is more to be blam'd, than he, who in what he doth is not Maſter of himſelf.

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Seeing I am now discoursing of Marriage; I will not leave the Subject, till I have given *your Majesty* an account of somewhat whereof I lately boasted. I told *your Majesty* that I did refuse a considerable Match offer'd me for my Son. It was *Mademoiselle Bournonville*, now the Dutchess of *Noailles*. The Proposition was made to me by her Father, who sent me word it should be upon such advantageous Terms for my Son, as should likewise satisfy me. Civility oblig'd me not absolutely to refuse what he propos'd, and therefore I thank'd him for the Honour he did me; but when we came to treat further concerning it, he requir'd that I should endeavour to prevail with *your Majesty*, to restore him to the Government of *Paris*, which *your Majesty* had taken from him, because he was so great a Friend to Monsieur *Fouquet*, and had also behav'd himself so ill, that tho' he had for several Months liv'd in a House near the very Gates of *Paris*, without ever coming to pay his Respects to *your Majesty*, when he was in very good Health, and daily made Merry with his Friends that came to visit him; yet he made *your Majesty* believe he was troubled with Vapours, which would not suffer him to go any where out of his House. But the Feasts he made, and the pleasant Life he led, giving his pretence the Lye, and *your Majesty* being inform'd of it, thought fit to use him as you did. I thank'd him for the Honour he intended my Son, but I thought it better to lose the advantage of such an Alliance, rather than to run the hazard of *Your Majesty's* Displeasure.

Tho' your Majesty had to do with so many Enemies, yet you took care to secure the Peace of Italy, which was upon the point of being disturb'd, by the difference which happen'd between the Duke of Savoy, and the Republick of Geneva. But by interposing your Authority, your Majesty prevail'd with both Parties, to accept of your Mediation, and you brought both to an Agreement.

You had the same work to do over again in Poland, upon the Death of the new King there without Children, who had Marry'd the Emperour's Sister; before she was Marry'd, the Prince of Lorrain was in Love with her, and it was said if she might have had her will, she would have preferr'd him (tho' he had lost his Country) before the King and Crown of Poland. Whatever was the matter, she made so great a Party for him in the Kingdom, that every body thought he would have been chosen King. The Poles were so little satisfy'd with the Deceas'd King, that they were inclin'd to revive the Law which was against chusing a King of their own Nation. Your Majesty seem'd to approve the reviving of this Law, by your endeavours to have the Eldest Son of the Duke of Newburg preferr'd, before the Prince of Lorrain. In the last Election you were for the Old Duke of Newburg the Father, with whom then stood Competitors, the Prince of Lorrain, and the Prince of Condé. But because the Poles then objected against the Duke, as being too Old, and his Age now being greater than it was then, your Majesty to please them, now propos'd the Son in stead
of

of the Father, and spent a great deal of Money to get him Elected; which, if not, might at that time have been prejudicial to your Affairs. But tho' the Prince of *Newburg* was not chosen; yet by the Address of your Embassadour, the Prince of *Lorraine* was likewise put by, and a Native of *Poland* preferr'd before all the Princes propos'd. For *John Sobieski*, great Marshal of *Poland*, was made King, which very much displeas'd your Enemies, they imagining he would be a Friend to your Majesty, because he had marry'd a *French* Woman, who was the Daughter of Marquess *d'Arques*, Captain of the Hundred *Swisses*, of your Brother's Guard.

You had need of this Aid, against the Designs of the House of *Austria*, who fancy'd you would never come off with Honour, in the War you had begun. The Emperour possess'd with this Opinion, did two things which were mightily cry'd down by all People, not transported with Passion against you. One was the seizing upon Prince *William* of *Furstenburg* in *Collen*, who was *Abbé* of *Stravela*, and the Elector of *Collen's* Plenipotentiary; under which Character he could not be seized, without violating the Law of Nations. The other was the taking away by force, Fifty Thousand Crowns wick your Majesty had in the City, and which for the same reason ought to have been Sacred. But because the House of *Austria* had a mind to obstruct the Peace, and could find no better Obstacle; it pass'd over all other Considerations.

Prince *William* was first carry'd to *Baene*, where he had Ten Hours Conference with Marquess

quefs de Grana, Governour of the Town. Who reproach'd him with being born a *German*, yet had in several Occasions, which he particularly named, betray'd his Country. Which Prince *William* deny'd, but own'd he had serv'd *your Majesty*, after he had many times endeavour'd to deserve the Emperour's Favour, but could never obtain it. From *Bonne* he was Conducted to *Newstat*, where the Emperour resolv'd to have him put to Death in Prison, after a private Sentence pass'd against him, where only a few Persons were present, who Condemn'd him to be Beheaded. But *your Majesty*, who beside all your other good Qualities, hath that of diving into the most secret Councils of your Enemies, found a way to ingage the Pope's Nuncio, to represent to the Emperour, that he ought not in such a manner to put a Church-Man to Death. The scruple being easily put into the Emperour's Head, he stopp'd the Execution, and caus'd him to be remov'd to another Prison.

Your Majesty complain'd to the Court of *Vienna*, of the Violence offer'd to the Person of Prince *William*; and at the same time demanded Restitution of the Fifty Thousand Crowns that had been taken from you. But receiving no satisfactory Answer to either, you recall'd your Embassadours who were still at *Collen*: The other Princes did the like, seeing after what had been done, there was no more safety for them, than for Prince *William*. But since they that are strongest, are still thought to have most reason on their side; your Enemies list'd so many Troops, that few were of Opinion, *your Majesty*

esty would ever be able to make Head against
 'em. The Bishop of *Munster* was of that mind,
 and therefore quitted your Party. The Elector
 of *Collen* would have done the like, if the Bishop
 of *Strasburg* had not dissuaded him. But when
 People thought you could not but sink under the
 weight of so many Enemies, you attack'd *Franch-*
Conté, to which you had offer'd a Neutrality.
 The *Swiss* who had concern'd themselves in the
 Negotiation, were angry with the *Spaniards* for
 refusing what you offer'd; and therefore guard-
 ed their Frontiers, to keep the *Spaniards* from
 being assisted by their Allies. *Your Majesty* went
 into *Franche-Conté* in Person, and there did that
 which was never before known to be done at the
 taking of any place. You caus'd Canons to be
 hoisted up, and planted upon Mountains so
 very high and steep, that a Man could hardly
 clamber up; by which you became Master of
Besançon, that your Enemies thought impreg-
 nable.

The Conquest of this Province, gave *your*
Majesty new strength, of which you had need
 enough in the condition you were in. For the
 King of *England* was in a manner forced to a
 Peace with the *Dutch*, by his own Subjects, who
 were more jealous of your Conquests than
 others. But the King of *England* still left his
 Troops in *your Majesty's* Service. They were
 some Regiments, of which the most considerable,
 was call'd the Royal Regiment, Commanded
 by the Duke of *Monmouth*. Some of the Offi-
 cers were very insolent, so that one of them
 gave ill Language to one of Monsieur *Louvois's*
 Grooms,

Grooms, who to go the nearer way cross their Camp. Your Minister, who expected Respect should be paid to his very Liveries, put this Officer under a Guard, whereupon the others Mutiny'd. But seeing the Marquess had not the same Power over the *English*, that he had over your Troops, he was obliged to release the Officer; this was some Mortification to Monsieur *Louvoy's* excessive Pride. A Minister, or any Person, of greater or less Quality, might well be ashamed to take a Servant's part against a Gentleman, unless the ill usage of the Servant, were intended for an Affront to the Master. One of your Majesty's Captains was of a more phlegmatick Temper, who seeing his Coachman that used to drive him, lustily cudgel'd; when next day the Person that beat him came to excuse himself, by saying he knew not whose Man he was, the Captain told him he was obliged to him, and should be more, if all the Men he kept, had but so good a hand as he, for then People would be more afraid of his Men than they were.

The *Franche-Comté* being thus reduced, your Majesty resolved to have it better Fortified. Marquess *Louvoy* pitched upon an Engineer called *Combes*, a Man of good Skill and Experience, having given Proofs of his Ability in *Holland*, where he had been imploy'd in Fortifying several places. But the Marquess reserved *Besanson* to be Fortified by Monsieur *Vauban*, which so dissatisfied *Combes*, that he took the liberty to tell Monsieur *Louvoy*, he had been a chief Engineer in *Holland*, and therefore 'twas an Affront

front to him, to have another put over his Head. But the Marquess, whose Temper is to be obey'd without reply, sent him to the *Bastile*; where he was so cruelly treated, that he was shut up in a Chamber three days without a Bed. The Men, who thought he had not deserved such ill usage, took it so to Heart, that he fell Sick, and Monsieur *Louvois* about eleven days after, going to see him, ask'd whether he would be wiser for the future? *Combes* said he had something else to think of now, which was, to give God an Account of his Actions, being in a little time to leave the World. Tho' your Minister presently gave him his Liberty, yet in three days after he dyed. Which ought to Teach Men never to make too severe an use of their Authority, especially to Men of Courage; who seldom refuse to obey, but where they think their Honour concern'd. And in such Cases, if they be faulty, they ought in a friendly manner to be advis'd, and not Corrected with too much Rigour.

Your Majesty's great Success, made your Minister so very bold, that he every day begg'd new Favours of you. He obtain'd an Order from your Majesty, that I should yearly furnish him with Forty Millions, to defray the Charge of the War, and to Account for it to none but your self. The Account was given in a single sheet of Paper, which one would think, not big enough to contain the several Items of such a Summ. I do not believe 'tis by this alone, he hath got that prodigious Estate, which some say, is greater than many Sovereigns have. All the
Regula-

Regulations he hath made during this War, which under specious pretences have render'd your Officers poor ; were I believe intended more for his own Profit, than *your Majesty's*, you gratified him so many ways out of your Officer's Pay, that in perfect distast, many of them quitted your Service.

Yet this did no more satisfie his Avarice, than did *your Majesty's* granting him the Foreign Posts, which amounted to a vast Summ by his Exorbitant Taxing of Letters, whereof the least paid as much again as it used to do in Monsieur *Nouveau's* Time. He begg'd a Patent to have the sole power of Licenling People to keep Hackney, Stage, and Hired Horses, upon which he laid an Imposition. Not content with this, he obtain'd a Priviledge for those that kept such Horses, to be free from Quartering of Souldiers, for which Exemption, some gave him a Hundred Crowns ; not that they got so much by their Horses, but because Quartering of Souldiers was so great a burthen to them, that whatever they paid to be freed from it, yet they thought they had a good Bargain.

The Marquess became at last so great a Favourite, that he did whatever he pleas'd, without any body's daring to contradict him : Every one strove to shew him Respect, and all Favours passing through his Hands, it was a shame to see what base and servile Bows and Cringes were made to him by the greatest Persons in your Kingdom. For my own part, I was too Stiff to worship him. Finding the Forty Millions
which

which *your Majesty* order'd me to pay him, such an infinite Charge to your People, and that a greater Burden was yet to be laid upon 'em to answer other Expences, I began to examine how so vast a Summ could be laid out. As soon as I cast my Eye upon the Accompt, I discover'd a considerable Cheat, of no less than Fifteen or Sixteen Hundred Thousand Crowns a Year. I must speak likewise of the Abuses practis'd in the Years 1673. and 1674 concerning the Routes appointed for the marching of Souldiers from Place to Place. To be but one of your Minister's Lacquies, was Merit enough to have had Five or Six of them. Several Officers were likewise settled in *Paris*, to dispatch, as 'twas pretended, *your Majesty's* own Affairs; where nothing could be done without ready Money; so that if these Abuses had continued any long time, Forty Millions would not have been sufficient to answer the Charge of these Disorders. *Your Majesty* heard what I had to say concerning these Abuses, and thought fit to name Commissioners to inquire into 'em. They who were the greatest Criminals saved themselves, and those that were seiz'd, not being able to speak so pertinently as others, were, upon payment of their Fines, let out of Prison.

This was a Business bad enough, to have stopt the Carrier of your Ministers good Fortune; but *your Majesty* drawing from it Supplies to support the War, which was so much his care; he had Opportunities to be heard in his own Justification, and saved himself, by laying the Blame of all that had been done upon your Officers:

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So that there are lucky Conjunctions, when things shall be forgotten, which at another time would be punish'd with severity. It is also observable, that Men in great favour shall pass for innocent, when others who are less culpable shall be ruin'd and undone. But this is an Evil that hath long reign'd in the World, and looks as if it would continue much longer, before any Remedy be provided against it.

The Elector *Palatin* and the Bishop of *Münster* forsaking your Party, oblig'd your Majesty to quit all your Conquests in *Holland*, excepting *Graves* and *Maastricht*. You drew out all your Garrisons, and made up a good Body of an Army, which was what the Prince of *Condé* had some time before advis'd your Majesty to do; but Monsieur *Louvois* continually oppos'd it. In the mean time, Viscount *Turenne*, when he had shut up all the Passes of the County of *Montbelliard*, by which the Duke of *Lorraine* design'd to scour the County of *Burgundy*; having no more to do on that side, marched back again into *Germany*, where he took *Germesseim*, and caus'd it to be demolish'd; thereby taking away the hope which the Elector *Palatine* had, that this Place should streighten and keep the Garrison of *Phillipsbourg* from desolating his Country. He then went towards the *Rhine* and past it, to fight the Imperial Army, to which were now join'd the Duke of *Lorraine's* and the Bishop of *Münster's* Troops: He found them so advantageously posted, that he must run a great Risque in endeavouring to force them; but considering it would be an affront to him, to come so far and then retreat,

retreat, and also if he staid longer, the Enemy would be stronger than he, by the Duke of *Bourbonville's* coming up to them: Considering, I say, what Resolution soever he took, he had a great many Difficulties to grapple with, he resolv'd to do that wherein there was most Honour, which was to fight. However, it must be confest, we have a great deal of reason to say, that in Battels God only is the Giver of Victory, seeing without him, it was impossible, in this Action, for your General to have come off with Honour. He was in the first place oblig'd to force the little Village of *St. Seim*, into which the Enemy had put their Infantry: There was no coming to it, but through Defilés guarded by their Dragoons; but he overcame all those Difficulties with so much ease, that had his Troops been the best that ever were in *Europe*, yet they could never have done what they did, unless God had fought for him. They routed the Dragoons and took the Village; they afterward advanc'd against the Horse thro' narrow Lanes, beat 'em, and put 'em into so great a Fright, that they never thought themselves safe, till they had past the *Necker*.

This Victory cost *your Majesty* dear; for you lost in the Fight a great many good Officers, that might have done you great Service: You had so much to do, and in so many Places at once, that to direct and order what was fit to be done, required such a Head as yours. Count *Souches*, who commanded the greatest part of the Imperial Forces, enter'd into *Flanders*, and joyn'd with the Prince of *Orange*, whose Army consisted of Threescore
O
Thousand

Thousand Men, and that part which remain'd in *Germany* grew strong in a little time, by the Forces which came to it from all sides; so that they were scarce sensible of their late loss. *Your Majesty* was oblig'd to provide for the Safety of *Roussillon*, where the *Spaniards* made a shew of undertaking somewhat. But that which most troubled you, was, that the *Hollanders*, who being now Masters at Sea, by the King of *England's* deserting you, threaten'd the Coasts of *Normandy* and *Britany*; where the Alarm was so great, that one would have thought all had been lost: But after roaming to and fro they attempted to surprize *Belle Isle*, where they receiv'd a Repulse; which oblig'd them to retire, and then landing upon the Island of *Noirmoustier*, they pillag'd it, and exacted a Summ of Money from some of the best Houses, which they threatn'd to burn if it were not pay'd them. This Invasion, which look'd as if it would have swallow'd up your whole Kingdom, ending thus in doing so little, they went to seek for better Fortune in *America*, imagining that when you had so much to do at home, you could take care of nothing there. But they having besieg'd *St. Thomas*, met with so great resistance, that it holding out till the Season was too far spent to keep the Sea, they were forc'd to raise the Siege.

In the mean time, Viscount *Turenne*, after the Battel of *St. Scim*, came back on this side of the *Rhine* to joyn a part of his Army he had left there to make the more haste: but understanding the Enemy was to be re-inforc'd, he re-pass'd the River to fight them a Second time,

before

before they should grow too strong for him : But they retreated over the *Mein*, under the Canon of *Francfort*, the General following them so close, that he charged their Rear in passing the River, and cut off near Eight Hundred of their Men: But not being able to force them out of that Place, he return'd back to destroy the Elector *Palatin's* Country, which very much provok'd the Elector ; especially the burning some Villages, tho' without the General's Order ; it being in truth done by the Souldiers, that resolv'd to be reveng'd upon the Country, for barbarously murdering some of their Comrades.

The Elector, in his Passion, sent by a Trumpet a formal Challenge to Viscount *Turenne* ; but he was too prudent a Man to accept it ; but made him this answer, That having the Honour to command *your Majesty's* Army, he could do nothing without your Orders ; as to the Elector's complaints against him, they were without ground, for had the Elector's Subjects not dealt so cruelly with *your Majesty's* Souldiers, they had never thought of burning their Houses. That he did not refuse the Honour the Elector did him, in offering to fight with him, provided each of them were at the Head of an Army, and then he hop'd he might do *your Majesty* some Service.

The Imperialists having staid long enough under the Canon of *Francfort*, to reinforce themselves with the Recruits which were sent them from several Princes of the Empire : Viscount *Turenne* found their Army stronger than his own,

so that he entrench'd himself between *Landau* and *Weissenberg*. When the Imperialists saw him retreat, they took their turn to follow him, and came to *Mentz* where they pretended to pass the *Rhine* : but the Elestor of that Name, with whom *your Majesty* had taken measures, would not do as the Bishop of *Wirtsburg* did, but pray'd 'em to seek a Passage somewhere else.

The Prince of *Orange's* Army remain'd all this while encamp'd, and *your Majesty* wonder'd at it, not being able to guess why he attempted nothing, with so considerable a Force. The Prince of *Condé* observ'd him, but being much the weaker, he thought fit to entrench himself, and not to fight, but when he saw an opportunity. The Prince of *Orange* seeing all your Troops imploy'd, either to make Head against him, or to observe the Imperialists, whose Army would in a little time be Sixty Thousand Men, by the joyning of Marquess *Brandenburg*, who was already on his March; gave Order for the besieging of *Graves*, by *Rabenhaut* an Officer who had gotten some Reputation against the Bishop of *Munster*, when that Prelate was of your Party. Count *Chamilli*, younger Brother to him of whom I have made mention, commanded in the place, and defended it so well, that *Rabenhaut* had time enough to catch cold before it. The Garrison made frequent Sallies, so that at three Months end, he was not much farther advanc'd, than he was the first Day; tho' he had promis'd to give a good account of the Town in three Weeks.

In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* seem'd

to

to design entring into *France*, which he thought easier to do, than to begin a Siege in sight of your Army, which would not have suffer'd it without coming to Blows. The Prince of *Orange* in order to his Design began to march, and the Prince of *Condé* follow'd him, and fell on his Rear so rudely, that he kill'd above Three Thousand Men, made as many Prisoners, and took his Baggage and some of his Canon, before he could recover himself, or well know what was to be done: The Country which was full of Hedges and broken Ground, made by Torrents of Rain, offer'd the Prince of *Orange* an advantage, which he could not have met with in an open Plain: He threw his Infantry into these Posts, which hindred *your Majesty* from advancing: But the Prince of *Condé* was so eager in pressing still forward, that he did things, which another would have thought impossible. He had a great many Men kill'd, and had himself Three Horses shot under him; so much did he hazard his Person, by his Example to give warmth to the Action: But by the great resistance made by the Enemy he was still repuls'd, till night came on, and parted the Combatants, both attributing to themselves the Victory. But there was no colour for the Enemy to pretend to it, because that which makes a Victory, is to remain Master of the Field, to have the pillaging of the Enemy, taking Prisoners, and several other things not necessary to be specified. All this fell out on *your Majesty's* side, but nothing of it on theirs; unless perhaps the Enemy might boast, that the

Prince of *Condé* lost as many Men as they, and it may be a greater number of Officers.

But it must be confest, that the end of this Battel did not answer the beginning, which could not be more to any General's Glory: But the desire he had to get all, made him lose more than he imagin'd, and till that very Day, it could not be decided, which of the Two, the Prince of *Condé*, or Viscount *Turenne*, knew most, in the Trade of War. Many were prepossest in the Prince's Favour, and thought the Prize due to him, but others now began to be of another Mind, and gave it to his Rival.

This Battel however spoiled the Prince of *Orange's* Design; who now thought no more of entering into *France*. Monsieur *Louvois*, who did not love the Prince of *Condé*, was very much pleas'd with what had happen'd; because it gave him an Opportunity, of doing the Prince ill offices to *your Majesty*: So that since this Campaign, he hath not been any more employ'd, and I believe never would have been again at the Head of an Army, if Viscount *Turenne* had not been kill'd the following Campaign; there being then a kind of necessity, that a General of Reputation should succeed in his Place.

As Monsieur *Louvois* knew how to do a great deal of Mischief to his Enemies, so he was able to deliver his Friends out of Danger, and those that were so happy to have his Protection; as appears by what he did for Monsieur *Bret*, Lieutenant General of your Army in *Catalonia*, where his Vanity and Imprudence made him commit a Fault, which deserv'd exemplary Punishment.

Your Majesty, some time ago sent him into that Country, and left him there some preceding Years, with the chief command of your Army, because then there appear'd no considerable Enemy. But the *Spaniards* having sent thither the Duke of *St. Germain*, a General of Reputation, with a part of their old Troops; *your Majesty* thought fit to send against him Count *Schomberg*, not inferior to him, and who had often engag'd him, when they were both in *Portugal*. This was some mortification to a Man so Vain as Monsieur *Bret*, who was now but a Lieutenant General; which not being able to bear, he did so rash a thing of his own Head, that none but Marquess *Louvoy* could have sav'd him. The Enemy, after having taken *Bellegard*, which gave them entrance into *Roussillon*, came and encamp'd within Canon shot of your Army, which so displeas'd Monsieur *Bret*, that he gave them Battel while his General was yet in Bed, and without expecting any Orders from him: But he was beaten to the purpose, and if Count *Schomberg*, who wonder'd at his Boldness, had not by his good Conduct repair'd his Fault, *your Majesty's* Army had been totally defeated. Your Cavalry, which without viewing the Ground, he had engaged among Pits and Places broken with currents of Water, were many of them cut off, and *Rabliere*, who commanded them, was taken Prisoner, with other Officers of note: Those that came off, were in no condition to have made any considerable resistance all that Campaign, if that which hap-

pen'd elsewhere had not oblig'd the Enemy to return again into *Catalonia*.

Messina, the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, having a long time complain'd of the Extortion and Tyranny of their Viceroy's, and having often inform'd the Council of *Spain* thereof, without receiving any redress; they resolv'd one day to try, whether they could shake of their Yoke, and after having made themselves Masters of the Haven, and one of the principal Forts of the Town, they all cryed Liberty. That Word tickl'd the Ears of the Multitude, who, against reason, often think they shall better their Condition by changing their Master; and made above Sixty thousand Men take Arms. The better sort of Citizens, considering it was impossible to resist their Sovereign any long time, unless they were supported by a Power able to assist them; consulted what was best for them to do; whether to address themselves to *your Majesty*, or to have recourse to the *Turk*. They were not long deliberating on the choice they were to make, those that had a little care of their Religion, declar'd, that in all respects, their best and most justifiable way would be, to implore *your Majesty's* help, and send Deputies to request your Protection.

The Offers their Deputies made you, were, that they would deliver themselves up to *your Majesty*, upon Condition you would treat them better than the *Spaniards* had done: Whereupon you assembled your Council, who finding it would be of great advantage to you, to lay hold of this opportunity to cut out work for the *Spaniards*

niards on that side ; the Deputies had assurance given them, that *your Majesty* would assist them with all your Forces : But it was not thought fit you should accept of the Sovereignty which they offer'd you, but that it would be better to endeavour to turn their Government into a Common-Wealth.

You sent back the Deputies with fair promises, which at the same time you effectually perform'd, by giving order to the Marquess *Valavoire* to take some of your Men of War, and Convoy to *Messina* some Vessels loaden with Provisions, of which they had great need, and which came very seasonably to them ; for they began to be in extream want. The rebelling of Subjects against their Sovereign, is a business which should be well considered before it be attempted, 'tis always attended with such ill consequences, that were they not bound by their birth and allegiance to be faithful to him, yet their own interest should oblige them to it.

But as Subjects owe their Sovereign perfect obedience, so the Sovereign on his part, ought not to use his Subjects like Slaves, nor lay heavier burdens on them than necessity of State requires. Otherwise they will quite sink under their load, or else like a resty Horse will kick against the Spur, as it happens when we endeavour to break and tame a young Horse, all at once, without using him by degrees to insensible correction.

The revolt of *Messina*, render'd the Enemy's Victory in *Roussillon* of little or no advantage to them ; for being obliged to leave that Province,
and

and go where there was most danger, their absence gave *Your Majesty* an opportunity to drive them next year quite out of the Country, by retaking the Castle of *Bellegard*.

The disgrace which your Troops receiv'd in *Catalonia*, was so largely recompenced by the prosperous success of your Arms, the next Campaign in *Germany* and *Flanders*; that *your Majesty* had all the reason in the world to be well pleas'd. Your Army had twice triumph'd under Viscount *Turenne*, and tho in the Battel of *Seneff* the Prince of *Condé* lost many brave men, yet it produc'd a very good effect. One thing I forgot to speak of till now, which was of great advantage to you, the Baggage of Count *Monteri*, Governour of the *Spanish Flanders*, was taken in that Battel, and some Papers found which discover'd a Conspiracy that was hatching in your Kingdom, to deliver up certain places upon the Coast of *Normandy*; they at least made mention of some such thing, but for my own part, I cannot believe there was really any such Conspiracy, the person suppos'd to be chief in it, and all his Accomplices, were people of so little credit, that I rather think it was a trick to get Money from the *Spaniards* by one not worth a Groat, and who was up to the ears in debt.

The principal Conspirator was the *Chevalier de Rhoan*, who was a very handsom well made man, but so extreamly debauch'd, that he lost the good opinion *your Majesty* once had of him; he us'd all his Relations, and his own Mother so ill, that she not long ago complain'd to *your Majesty*

jeſty that he had robbed her, and many times after that ſo abuſed her, that ſhe was about to pray *your Maſteſty* to do her the favour, to ſend him to the *Baſtille*. To compleat his imprudence, he parted with his place of chief Huntsman of *France*, by which he ſubſiſted ; ſo that not knowing how to live, he did that of which I am now ſpeaking.

The buſineſs concern'd *your Maſteſty* too much to be neglected ; for had he deſign'd nothing but the getting a little Money, yet he deſerv'd to be puniſh'd, that it might not be an ill example to your Subjects. Whatever it was he intended, *your Maſteſty* order'd he ſhould be ſeiſ'd, and ſent to the *Baſtille* ; and the Major of your Guards went to *Rouan* to take one of his Confederates called *Lautremont*. The Major ſurpriz'd him in his Bed, and though he ſhould have immediately brought him away bound Hand and Foot, yet becauſe he had ſome acquaintance with him, he gave him leave to go into his Cloſet, where he had two Piſtols ready Charged, one he fired upon the Major, but miſs'd him ; one of your Guards that went with him, ſhot *Lautremont* with a Muſquetoone through the Body ; which diſpleas'd *Your Maſteſty*, becauſe he being kill'd, you could not come to the knowledge of ſeveral things, which you hoped he might have confeſt ; for it was he that was truſted with the management of the whole Intrigue, and who had ſent into *Flanders* a School-maſter that was a Stranger, and had a Lodging in the Suburbs of *St. Antoine* ; this Fellow would have run away, but you gave Order that he, the
Mar-

Marchionefs de Villars, and the *Chevalier de Preaux*, ſhould all three be ſeiſed.

If the *Chevalier de Rhoan* had known what paſſ'd, he certainly would not have confeſt any thing; for no body but he that was kill'd at *Rouen*, knew that he was in the Conſpiracy. When the School-maſter was examin'd, he ſaid, what he had done was by *Lautremont's* direction. The *Marchionefs de Villars*, and the *Chevalier de Preaux* likewise ſaid, they knew nothing. But he that Interrogated the *Chevalier de Rhoan*, by promiſing him *Your Maſteſties* Pardon, made him confeſs that none but he knew any thing of the buſineſs; which promiſe being made without any order from *Your Maſteſty*, you did not think your ſelf oblig'd by it; ſo that the *Chevalier de Rhoan* was condemn'd to have his Head cut off. He beginning to think matters did not go well with him, becauſe for ſome days he was not ſuffer'd to have a Knife at Table, which was formerly allow'd him, he pray'd that Father *Bourdaloue* the Jeſuit might come and confeſs him.

In two and twenty years he never received the Sacrament, but now on the ſudden became ſo alter'd, that no body would have thought him the ſame man. He was very penitent, humble, and with great reſignation ſubmitted himſelf to God's will; ſo that when the Executioner came to bind him, and ask'd whether he ſhould take off a Ribband from his Coat to do it? he ſaid no, take a Rope, for ſo great a ſinner as he was, could not be too rigorouſly uſed. He ſhew'd ſo many ſigns of Humiliation, that he drew

drew tears from the eyes of divers Spectators. Being come out of the *Bastille* to the place of Execution just before it, he stood still, and shew'd so much courage, that many pitied his sad condition. Before he mounted the Scaffold, he asked Father *Bourdaloué*, whether any body had taken care to comfort his Mother; he beg'd her pardon in a very passionate Letter he had written to her; he spoke a few words to the Marchioness *de Villars*, and to the Chevalier *de Preaux*, who were to suffer with him. Then stretching out his neck to the Executioner, he cut off his head at one blow.

His body was carry'd in a mourning Coach to *St. Paul's*, where it remain'd till it was remov'd from thence to the Abby of *Souars*, where he desired to be buried. The Marchioness *de Villars*, and the Chevalier *de Preaux*, were likewise executed; and after them the Schoolmaster, who was hanged; a warning to all that waste and spend their Estates, never thinking what shall become of them; and when God hath forsaken them, make no scruple of committing any kind of Wickedness. Let Libertines also learn, who live as if there were no God, that there will come a time when he will suffer them to fall into the Hands of Justice, and they shall then know, tho' too late, how much mistaken they have been, in not serving him, whose Grace given to them as it was to this Person of whom I have now spoken, can only make them Happy.

I now return again to tell *your Majesty* what pass'd in *Flanders*, where the Prince of *Orange* having besieg'd *Oudenard*, the Prince of *Condé* march'd

march'd to relieve it : But the Imperialists not coming to assist the Prince of *Orange*, as they were to have done, he was forc'd to raise the Siege, and leave Count *Souches*, with whom he was so much displeas'd, that he complain'd of him to the Emperour ; charging him with being the Cause, that the Affairs of the Campaign had no better Success. The Emperour, to content the Prince of *Orange*, would not for some time see General *Souches* ; but he, after a while, finding an Opportunity to justify himself, was again restor'd to the Emperour's Favour.

The Siege of *Graves* lasted till now, and there was no likelyhood that it should end, having still some Out-Works which were not taken. Beside, the ill Weather was now coming on ; so that there was little hope of reducing a Garrison, which without receiving any Relief, had been the Death of so many Men : For *Rabenbaut* had the ill luck still to be beaten, in all the Salleys made by Count *Chamilli*. But for a greater Mortification to him, one of *your Majesty's* Colonels of Seventy Years of Age, came purposely from *Maestricht*, and carry'd away the best part of the Fruit he hop'd to reap by taking the Town. When *your Majesty* withdrew your Forces from *Holland*, you demanded a great Summ of Money of them, and the Towns which could pay down but part of what you requir'd, gave you Hostages to be security for the rest. These Hostages were in *Graves* as in a Place of Safety, and *Rabenbaut* who had besieg'd it, made account, that by taking it, he should save *Holland* a very considerable Summ for which they were still accountable :

able : He had good ground to believe he should not be deceiv'd in his Expectation, because *Ruremond* and *Venlo* which belong'd to the *Spaniards*, hinder'd *your Majesty* from relieving the Place. But *Melin Mestre de Camp* of the Cavalry, came, as I have already said, with a party from *Maestricht*, past through *Rabenbaut's* Guards, enter'd the Town, took away the Hostages, and went back to his own Garrison, by the same way he came.

General *Rabenbaut* hereby lost so much of his Reputation, that the Prince of *Orange* had not that esteem for him he had before ; and he concluded he must not rely upon him for the taking the Town. The Prince therefore, with some Troops he had drawn together out of *Flanders*, went to *Graves* himself, and became Master of the Place.

Graves being fallen into the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, the Campaign ended on that Side ; but continued still with a great deal of Heat in *Germany*. The great Force which the Enemy power'd into *Alsatia*, did a little astonish your Minister Monsieur *Louvois*, who being afraid the Province could not be sav'd, advis'd *your Majesty* to give Viscount *Turenne* Order to leave it, and go to some other Place, where his Presence was more necessary. This was a Pill which *your Majesty* could not well swallow ; and to lose a whole Country at once, which had cost you so much Blood to conquer, was very hard to be digested. But Marquess *Louvois* representing to you the necessity of it, and that otherwise you would lose

Lorrain,

Lorrain, whither the Duke of that Name was marching, with great hopes to enter again into it; you consented that General *Turenne* should be recall'd; but he knowing things were not in so ill a Condition as they were thought to be, sent Monsieur *Louvois* word, that some body must have given *your Majesty* ill Counsel, in advising you to take such a Resolution. That he being on the Place, saw better than others, how things were, and therefore prayed him to deliver a Letter to you, which he had done himself the Honour to write, wherein he had given *your Majesty* such Reasons for changing your Resolution, that he hop'd you would do it as soon as you had read his Letter.

Marquess *Louvois* thought it great vanity in this General, to believe he knew more than he, and without shewing his Letter to *your Majesty*, sent him new Orders, expressly the same with the first. This great Man suspecting that *your Majesty* was not privy to these repeated Orders, and that if his Letter had been deliver'd, you would have done him the Honour to have answer'd it; he resolv'd, before he would do what was commanded him by the second Orders, to write again to *your Majesty*; and sent the Letter to Cardinal *Bouillon* his Nephew, to be by him safely deliver'd. The Confidence which *your Majesty* had in the Wisdom and Prudence of this General, as soon as you had cast your Eyes on his Letter, made you conclude that Monsieur *Louvois* had not given you good Counsel, and that you were best to follow your General's Advice, and not your Minister's:

You

You therefore wrote a Letter with your own Hand to Viscount *Turenne*, wherein you told him, that you referr'd your self wholly to his Judgment, and that he should use his own Discretion, to do what he thought best.

○ This was Vexation enough to your Minister, whose Custom it was to be Absolute ; but believing he knew more than any Man, concluded if things fell out ill, as he had predicted, Viscount *Turenne* must then lose the good Opinion *your Majesty* had of him, and consequently you would for the future confide wholly in the *Marquess* : But he reckon'd without his Host, and found that the General preserved both *Savern* and *Hagenau*, which the Enemy besieged one after another. He likewise broke the Design they had upon *Brisac*, which they had begun to shut up so close, that it being in great want, they hoped they should quickly have it without blows. Tho' these Actions were very considerable, yet they were the least wherewith the General ended this prosperous Campaign ; for feigning to go and take Winter Quarters in *Lorraine*, he Marched through by-ways, and fell unexpectedly upon the Enemy, who had separated, the better to subsist ; and went on beating them one after another, till they made a stand at *Turquem* ; but he likewise drove them from thence, and forced them to pass the *Rhine*. He took from the Inhabitants of *Straßbourg* what Effects they had abroad, because they let the Enemy pass over their Bridge, contrary to the Promise they made him.

Your Majesty who doth not use to let any Service of this Nature remain unrewarded, sent the General the very next day after he came to *Paris*, a Hundred Thousand Crowns in *Louis-d'ors*, and gave him many other marks of your Favour. You sent *Marquis Louvois* to him, to ask his Pardon for many things, for which the General had just cause of Complaint against him. *Monsieur Turenne* upon this occasion Treated him, as we see a great Mastiff uses to do a little Cur; he heard his Complement, without shewing him any respect, or sign of Anger, and sent him away with an Answer, which 'tis supposed did not please him. The Prince of *Condé* came to see *Monsieur Turenne*, and to know of him what past at this Enterview. *Viscount Turenne* having given an Account of it to the Prince of *Condé*, who had no reason to love *your Minister*; the Prince pray'd *Monsieur Turenne*, that they might go both together to undeceive *your Majesty*, in many things which possess you with so good an Opinion of him. *Viscount Turenne* promis'd the Prince he would, but *Monsieur Tellier*, having notice of it, came to the Prince of *Condé* and beseech'd him to pardon his Son, who should for the future pay him all the Respect he could desire; so that pacifying the Prince by fair Promises, he prevented his Son's Ruine; which had been inevitable, if these two Great Men had resolved it. For it was an easie thing to have demonstrated to *your Majesty*, that many things wherein *Monsieur Louvois* made you believe he had done you

great

great Service, would upon Examination have appear'd, to deserve quite another Name.

As for Example, I may put into that number, the change Monsieur *Louvois* perswaded your Majesty to make, in the Hospitals which were Erected for such as had the Leprosie; and to convert the Revenue which belonged to those Houses, into Rewards for such as Served you in your Wars. I presume to tell your Majesty, when you have seriously consider'd it, you must be convinc'd, your Power doth not extend so far in things of this Nature: These Foundations are Works of Piety which you are oblig'd to maintain: I know very well it hath been pretended, these Hospitals are of no use, because 'tis now said the Leprosie, for which these Houses were intended, is the effect of meer Debauchery, and not an incurable Disease, as People heretofore believed. But be it, or be it not so, yet your Majesty is not Authorized to seize the Revenue, and give it to whom you please. If you can dispose of it, the most you can do is, to Assign it to some other Hospitals, or so to convert it, that it may answer the Founder's Intention; for to give it to People, who make use of it to gratifie their Passions, is what Casuists do not allow.

I doubt, whether you can legally unite it, to the *Hotel Royal des Invalides*, which you have caused to be built so Magnificently, and have laid out so much Cost and Charge upon it, that it seems to be intended rather for a Palace, than an Hospital for Maimed Souldiers. Your Majesty is oblig'd to provide Maintenance for them

out of your own Revenue, and not out of what properly belongs to others ; it would be in some sort a shame to do it, seeing you would lose the Glory of such a Noble Establishment, could it be said you had built it at another's Cost, and not at your own.

The Year 1675, was no sooner begun, but *your Majesty* thought of securing a Communication with *Maestricht*, which the Enemy had cut off towards the end of the last Campaign, by taking *Huy* and *Dinant* : Which was done by the Imperialists, when they separated from the Prince of *Orange's* Army ; and which made him desire to re-take *Maestricht*. To this end he prevail'd with the Emperour, to send Cardinal *Baden* to *Leige*, a Canon of that Church, who under pretence of Residence, endeavour'd to make the Town declare for the Emperour ; which would have very much favour'd the intended Siege of *Maestricht*. His Eminence found the Town very well disposed to do what he desired, and I must tell *your Majesty*, that Marquess *Louvoy* was the cause of it : He had upon several occasions discontented the Citizens of *Leige*, who were formerly well enough affected to him, he had often caused the Houses which they had out of the Town to be pillag'd, which was done in spite, because one day passing by the Town, one of the Canons railed at him, and spoke so loud that Mounsieur *Louvoy* heard him.

But the Count *d'Estrades*, who took care of *your Majesty's* Affairs, prevented the Cardinal of *Baden*, by Treating with the Governor of

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the Citadel, who deliver'd it up into his Hands. The good Success of this Negotiation, having put it out of the *Leigeois* Power, to do the Mischief they intended; Cardinal *Raden*, who had nothing more to do in the Town, desired a Passport from the Count *d'Estrades*, for his safe return into *Germany*; but making use of it to carry away Arms with him, the Governour made that a pretence to stop the Cardinal and his Train. All *Europe* accus'd your Majesty of breach of Faith, in making your self Master in this manner of the Citadel of *Leige*; but how easily can you clear your self, and shew what reason you had to do it: For his Eminence had done the same thing, if you had not prevented him, as appear'd by his Papers that were seiz'd, of which some were kept, that made mention of all the Cardinal had been brewing. This so silenc'd all those that endeavour'd to blast your Majesty's Reputation, that there was not a word more said of the matter.

This great Affair being ended in the manner I have mention'd; Your Majesty besieged *Dinant*; when you had taken it, you cleared all the *Meuse* from that Town to *Maestricht*, by taking the Town and Castle of *Huy*. From thence you went and besieged *Limbourg*; the Prince of *Orange* made a shew as if he would Relieve it, but not doing it, you became Master of it, and Viscount *Turenne* return'd again into *Germany*, to make Head against *Montecuculi*, who the Emperour had sent into that Country.

Viscount *Turenne* had not now so great Forces to deal with, as he had the Year before, for you had contriv'd a diversion in the North, by the King of *Sweden's* declaring War against the Marquels of *Brandenbourg*. The Duke of *Hanover* was to second the *Swede* with an Army of Fifteen Thousand Men, to keep those in awe who had a mind to assist the Elector: But Constable *Wrangel*, who Commanded the *Swedish* Army, being gain'd by his Master's Enemies, did not Execute the Orders which were given him; so that the Duke of *Hanover* durst not declare himself. Nevertheless, this made the Elector of *Brandenbourg* recall his Troops from the Imperial Army, whereupon, the Marquels de *Vauban*, one of your Lieutenant Generals, took *Dachstein* in the absence of Viscount *Turenne*.

Monsieur *Louvois* believing, that by the King of *Sweden's* declaring War, he had made amends for the Fault he committed, in dissuading your Majesty from making a Peace, so much to your Advantage; thought of nothing but continuing the War now kindled in so many different places. The *Messineses* being in very great distress, and beginning to cry *Misere*, you sent *Vallabois*, with a second Convoy of Corn, which he had the good luck to conduct safely to them, tho' the *Spaniards* way-laid him in his passage, with Forces much superiour to his. I know not what made your Majesty change your Modest Resolution concerning the *Messineses*: You accepted the Sovereignty which at first you refus'd, and sent thither, in the Quality of

of your Vice-roy, the Duke de *Huyne*, General of your Gallies, Brother to *Madam Montspan*: Who because he was her Brother, Monsieur *Lauray* prevail'd to have him prefer'd to that Command, tho' there were many other Competitors much fitter for it. He was indeed very successful at his first coming to *Massina*; for he enter'd the Haven in spite of the *Spaniards*, and took from them a Vessel of fifty Guns. He reduced some Forts which the *Spaniards* still kept, and taking the Field, he drove 'em out of all the Posts they had within four Leagues round the Town. That done, he went abroad again, made a Descent upon *Calabria*, and brought thence a considerable Booty. But when there was most need of his doing somewhat to the purpose, he slept upon his good Fortune, which occasion'd many Plots and Conspiracies against him; however, 'twas his good Luck, to be deliver'd from 'em all.

Viseount *Turenne* being come to his Army, found it in a very good Condition, by what Marquess *Vaubrun* had done, for since the taking of *Dachstein*, they had plenty of all Provisions; and being eager to Signalize themselves, he pass'd the *Rhine*, and offer'd *Montecuculi* Battel, which he refused. He could not force him to fight, because he was so Advantageously Posted, but having tryed all ways, he at last reduced him to so great a scarcity of Victuals and Forage, that *Montecuculi* must have certainly been forced to decamp first, and then *Turenne* would have fall'n upon him; but advancing to the top of a Hill, to take a view of the Imperial Army,

Army, he was unfortunately kill'd with a Canon Bullet.

This sad Accident chang'd all things in an instant ; so true it is, that an Army without a General, is like a Body without a Soul. *Montecuculi*, who was making the best of his way, when he knew in what a Consternation your Forces were by the Death of Monsieur *Turenne*, returns again to charge 'em. The Lieutenant Generals who Commanded, thought of nothing but repassing the *Rhine*. While they were consulting what course to take ; a Souldier said a very pleasant thing. General *Turenne*, crys the Fellow aloud, us'd to Ride upon a Pied Horse, take the Bridle, and but lay it on his neck, he will know better than our Commanders where we should go. But Count *de Lorge* conducted the Army safe over the *Rhine*, after having given the Enemy Battel ; who thought to have made a much better hand of it.

The Merit of this great Man, made your Majesty very sensible of his loss, which will every day appear greater, by the want you will find of him. But it was otherwise with Monsieur *Louvois*, who when all France mourn'd for his Death, he and his rejoyc'd. I certainly know what I tell your Majesty is true, and if he could have hinder'd his being so Honourably Buried, he would have done it. His Funeral Pomp was very great, and I know no body but your Minister that spoke against it. The Memory of those Great Things he had done, is so deeply Ingraved in the Hearts of your Subjects, that it is hard to say, whether he was most Esteem'd

Esteem'd or Beloved. He did not only deserve to be commended for those his Military Accomplishments, which are the Glory of a Hero; but for all other Moral and Christian Vertues so, rarely to be found in one Person.

The Duke of *Lorraine* was upon the *Moselle*, with his own Troops, and those of *Lunenburg*, *Munster*, and some of the other Confederates, and having heard of this Accident, laid Siege to *Treves*; where *Vignori* an old Souldier Commanded. Of whose Experience the Prince of *Condé* (under whom he had Served all his Life) assured your Majesty. He was not at all discourag'd at the Siege, knowing *Mareschal Crequi* was marching to his Relief; but while he was giving Orders on Horseback, his Horse frighted with a clap of Thunder, threw him headlong from a Bastion, of which he dyed in a few days. This fatal Accident made the *Mareschal* hasten his March; fearing that *Vignori's* Death might so dishearten his Souldiers, as to deliver up the Town. But the Duke of *Lorraine* sav'd *Monsieur Crequi* the labour of advancing further, and met him at *Consarbrik*, where the *Sarte* and *Moselle* join. The Duke past the River, where the *Mareschal*, if he pleas'd, might have taken the advantage of charging part of his Army, before the rest could have got over: But neglecting it, I know not for what Reason, nor perhaps he himself, he was so soundly beaten, that all his Troops, ran some one way, and some another, and he narrowly escaping, with four more, got into *Treves*; where, in perfect despair, he resolv'd to bury himself in defence
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of the Place, tho' it was of no great importance. Indeed, the resistance he made, was so much greater than the Enemy expected, that they offer'd him very good Terms; but resolving not so much as to talk of yielding, a Captain of Foot called *Boisjourdan*, told the Garrison they had nothing to do with the Marechal's desperation; that tho' he had a mind to perish, yet they were not bound to follow his Example. Some were of his Opinion, and told the Marechal, the Place was not in a Condition to hold out any longer; but his Passion not permitting them to say any more. *Boisjourdan* Treated with the Enemy, and let 'em into the Town. Marechal *Crequi* saved himself in the Church, where he resolved with some Officers, who did not approve of what *Boisjourdan* had done, to stand it out; but seeing the Enemy preparing to force 'em, they told the Marechal, your Majesty and all France, would blame his desperate Resolution, and at last perswaded him to yield at discretion.

Your Majesty in truth was not pleas'd with what he had done, and would have been less satisfy'd if his desperation had carry'd him further: But knowing what was done by *Boisjourdan*, was an ill Example not to be endur'd, you caus'd him to be seized, and he and some of his Companions were Condemn'd by a Council of War to be Beheaded. The Sentence was Executed at Metz in the presence of the Garrison: No body pitying him, because no Souldier can be a Man of Honour, who is guilty of Disobedience.

Your

Your Majesty after these ill Successes, had reason to fear the Enemy would enter into France; but your Prudence prevented it, by raising a Jealousie between the Princes of the House of *Brunswick* and the Duke of *Lorrain*; the Princes, maugre all the Duke could say, resolv'd to return to their Country. 'Tis the Fate of Confederates never to agree, what one will, the other will not, and it would be a Miracle to see them hold together, while they have different Interests; which is the Reason their Designs so seldom prosper.

After the Death of Monsieur *Turenne*, your Majesty fearing the Enemy would prevail in *Alsacia*, you sent thither the Duke de *Duras*, whom three days after his Uncle's Death, you had made a Marechal of France. You conferr'd the same Honour on some other Officers, and Monsieur *Louvois* so far prevail'd with you, as to let Marquis *Rochefort* be one of that number, tho' he had done nothing more than he had before to deserve it. The others were the Count d'*Estrades*, the Duke of *Navailles*, whom you had recalled from his Banishment, Count de *Schamberg*, the Duke de *Vivonne*, the Duke de *la Feuillade*, and the Duke of *Luxembourg*. But because the Duke de *Duras* had not so much Experience as his Uncle, you gave the Command to the Prince of *Condé*, whose Reputation only was of great advantage to your Majesty, in the present conjuncture.

The Enemy having pass'd the Rhine at the Bridge of *Strasbourg*, (the second time this Town had falsify'd their Promise to you) believed

lieved they should presently take *Hagenau*; but the Prince of *Condé* having oblig'd them to raise the Siege, they attack'd *Saverne*, which they thought to carry with more ease. But their Success there was the same they had at *Hagenau*, so that this Campaign, which at first threatned *your Majesty* with a turn of Fortune, ended so little to your disadvantage, that *your Majesty* had no cause to fear on that side.

The *Sweeds* came not off so well. They were at last advanc'd into the Elector of *Brandenbourg's* Country, where they took some Posts of no great consequence; but they went on so slowly, that they seem'd to act in concert with the Elector; he taking as little care to oppose them. But the Elector knowing that the King of *Sweden* being press'd by *your Majesty*, would at last act more vigorously against him, made haste out of *Holland*, where he then was, to defend his own Country; and had the good Fortune as soon as he arriv'd, to rout the *Sweeds* at a Pass called *Felbeling*. They lost there the greatest part of their Cannon and Baggage, a blow they could not recover, during that Campaign. The King of *Denmark*, who with the Princes of the Family of *Brunswick*, took part with the Elector, had now an opportunity to do his own business. They all at one time fell upon the *Swede*, in the Dutchy of *Bremen*, in the Isle of *Rugen*, and some other of his Frontiers. And finding little resistance any where, the King of *Denmark* besieged and took *Wisnar*, a considerable Port upon the *Baltick* Sea.

Your

Your Majesty having now more Reason than ever, to be sensible of the ill Service Monsieur *Louvois* had done you, in perswading you not to make Peace ; accepted of the King of *England's* Mediation, which he offer'd to all the Princes engaged in the War, in order to make an end of it. They all consented as you did, and sent their Plenepotentiaries to *Nimeghen*, where yours arriv'd first. The *Spaniards* till now appear'd most averse to the Peace ; but the Business of *Messina* had brought down his Pride, and he fear'd that you would become Master of the whole Kingdom of *Sicily*, as you already were of the Capital City, and of *Augusta*, where the Duke of *Vivonne* had plac'd a Garrison. This last Town was not considerable for its strength, but being a Retreat for your Shipping, was of great advantage to *your Majesty*.

The *Dutch* on the other side were grown weary of the War, which was a very great Charge to 'em, by the Subsidies they had paid to those Princes who came to their assistance. Beside, they began to think they were not so much concern'd in the War, *your Majesty* having quitted their Country, and there was now no more to be consider'd, but the Interests of the Emperour, with those of the Princes of the Empire. But those being so different, promoted the Peace ; since it is certain they had less reason to distrust *your Majesty*, than their own Party. For as the Emperour's Power which he insensibly increas'd, gave great cause of Jealousie to all the Princes ; so the Emperour on his part, could not be well pleas'd, to see
them

them maintain a good Correspondence one with another, and often confer together concerning their Interests, without calling him to their Councils.

Things being in this condition at the beginning of the Year 1676, Monsieur *Louvois*, who had still a Spleen against me, about the business of the *Routes*, endeavour'd to be even with me in an Affair relating to the *Finances*, wherein he suspected I had been tampering. But I made it appear to your Majesty as clear as the day, that I was no way concern'd in it, and that if any thing had been done which could not be justified, *Damarsis* my Nephew was to be called to an Account for it; who had had the ordering of the whole business. I told your Majesty at the same time, I would not be answerable for him, knowing him to be a dangerous Person where there was any thing to be got. I never trusted him he was so Covetous, yet I was one of the first he endeavour'd to deceive. Your Majesty was much more kind to him than he deserved; you gave him a Hundred Thousand Crowns, in the first business he undertook for you; but there are some People so Insatiable, that should your Majesty give 'em half your Kingdom, they would not be contented. However, you were so gracious to him, as to pass all by for my sake, which is not the only thing for which I am indebted to your Majesty. Tho' I can say without boasting, I never had recourse to your Favour to be pardon'd for defrauding or robbing your Majesty. I have always endeavour'd

to walk uprightly, and I defie any Person to accuse me of the contrary.

The Heir of one Named *Friois*, by Nation a *Swiss*, who had got a very considerable Estate in your Kingdom, could testifie what I say, were he call'd to it. *Friois* dyed very Old, and was never Married. The Person of whom I speak, as Heir to him, claimed what he left ; but was oppos'd by one that Farmed *your Majesty's Demesnes*, who pretended a Title to it in *your Majesty's* Right, because *Friois* was a Bastard : So that according to the Law of your Kingdom, all he had got belong'd to him that had got the King's Title. This Contest, put them upon making Friends. He pretended Heir to the *Swisse*, thinking he could find no body that could do him more Service than my self, offer'd me Two Hundred Thousand Francks, if I would stand by him. I told him, no Sum, were it never so great, could tempt me to do any thing that was unjust ; so that seeing he could do nothing with me, he address'd himself to some very near Monsieur *Lowroy*, who for that Summ (divided among 'em,) did his business. *Villacerf* and *Pouange* had Twenty Thousand Crowns apiece ; *Stouppa*, and a certain Man whose Name I have forgot had the rest. The Farmer of *your Majesty's Demesnes* made his Complaint to me, and pray'd me to inform *your Majesty* what wrong had been done him ; but I found *your Majesty* so prepossess'd, that it was impossible for me to do any thing for him.

I know many other Cases, wherein there hath been the like prevarication ; and *your Majesty*

jeſty may be aſſur'd, that during the War, there hath been a baſe unworthy Trade of Selling vacant Places, even ſo low as Enſigns. This hath made one *Alexander* the Son of a pittiful Scrivener ſo Rich, that he thinks himſelf a Companion for Perſons of the beſt Quality. 'Tis by the like abuſe, *Charpentier* and *Bynot* his Brother-in-Law, are become ſo wealthy; tho' one but the Son of a little Townſman of *Compeigne*, and the other the Son of a Sergeant of *Tonnere*. *Your Maſteſty* may make bold with theſe Mens Purſes when you have occaſion for Mony, and need not fear any body will find fault with it. The one will throw up whole Companies he hath fold, and the others will diſgorge the Blood of entire Corporations, wherewith they have fatted themſelves. The poor Village of *Courtifoux* in *Champaign*, whoſe Wealth conſiſts only in Cheeſes, hath for ſeveral Years given *Charpentier* three thouſand Livers, *per an*, to free them from Quartering Souldiers: But when they could no longer pay him ſo great a Summ, and deſired an Abatement; he forgot their Preſents, and order'd Souldiers in their paſſage, to Quarter upon 'em.

I might fill this Paper with the like Abuſes, yet ſhould never have done. *Your Maſteſty* knows it was not long ſince I ſhew'd how you were cheated, in what was appointed to defray the extraordinary Expence of the War. Where you were made to pay one Regiment twice, by a ſecret Compact between the Commiſſary and the Treasuſer. I know very well this cannot be directly charg'd upon *Monſieur Louvois*; but

as he is bound to Answer for those that are employ'd by him, so 'tis he, and not I, that is to supervise them. My place finds me work enough, and I desire no new Employment. 'Tis *your Majesty* is concern'd, and your People, upon whom the burden of all these disorders falls; because 'tis from them you expect Money, when your Exchequer is empty. I do not pretend to give you a particular Account of these Frauds, 'tis impossible for me to do it, without depriving my self every Night of four or five Hours sleep, which are absolutely necessary for my Repose, after I am quite wearied with more Business than I am able to bear. *Your Majesty* I hope will reflect on what I have said when you think fit, in the mean time, I return again to the prosecution of your History.

The Spoil which the Garrison of *Phillipsbourg* made in the Elector *Palatin's* Country, oblig'd the Emperour (to be rid of his continual importunities,) to keep that place block'd up all the Winter; and promis'd him to take the Thorn quite out of his Foot, by besieging it in the Spring, which no body durst undertake while Monsieur *Turenne* was alive. The Count *de Lorges* importun'd *your Majesty* to bestow the same favour on him, that you had upon his Brother, and so many others whom you have Honoured as I have already said, with a *Mareschal's* Staff of *France*. He brought to your Account the Service he did *your Majesty*, in conducting your Army over the *Rhine* after his Uncle's Death, and the long time he had serv'd *your Majesty*. You had no great mind to grant his

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his Request, not but that you thought him a Man Brave enough, and that he very well understood his Trade : But having a small Estate, you thought he would be unable to support the Dignity of his Title. Monsieur *Lowvoy* who look'd upon him as the Nephew of a Man he never lov'd, did him ill Offices, believing he would never be his Friend. When I perceiv'd it, and that your unwillingness to grant Count *de Lorge's* Request, was only for the Reason I have now mention'd ; I told *your Majesty*, if the Count would make Love to *Fremont's* Daughter, and had but her Father's good Word, I would undertake he should certainly get her. Now to do him effectual Service, I threatned *Fremont* under-hand, to have him question'd concerning some Affairs, and how he came to be counted the Richest Man in all *Paris*. This frighted him, and knowing he had need of Protection, he hearken'd to the Proposition made by Count *de Lorge* ; upon condition he was first made a Marechal of *France*. I acquainted *your Majesty* with what was like to happen in Count *Lorge's* Favour, so that you being perswaded this Marriage would much better his Condition, you gave him the Staff he so earnestly desired. He then Married *Mademoiselle de Fremont*, who brought him so great a Portion, that he bought with ready Mony, the Captain's Place of *your Majesty's* Guards. He also Treated for the County of *Quintin*, which is one of the most considerable Estates in all *Brittany* ; the Yearly Rent whereof amounts to Fifty Thousand Livers. And as Fortune, when Men

Men begin to be Happy, heaps upon 'em her Favours ; so it fell out in this case, for he of whom this Land was bought, who was to have his Debts discharg'd, and a great Pension paid him during his Life, died in a short time after, so that Mareschal de Lorge had a very good bargain.

What I had contributed to his good Fortune, made Monsieur Lowoy keep him out of Employment this Campaign, tho' he had behaved himself much better than Mareschal Rochefort, who did not Execute his Orders, to put Men and Provisions into *Phillipsbourg*. Your Majesty knows what a Fault he committed in endeavouring it, and that he dyed with grief for having fail'd in the attempt ; which was more for want of Courage than Conduct. This should teach us never to be exalted too high, lest our Heads turn, and our Fall be the greater. A Man may get that Reputation in an inferior Post, which perhaps he would lose in a higher. Prudence prompts us to measure our Ambition, by the knowledge we have of our selves ; otherwise to our own ruin we may find there was Truth hid in the Fable of *Phaeton*.

Your Majesty open'd this Campaign with the taking of *Condé*, which was follow'd by that of *Bouchain*. The Prince of *Orange* drew near your Army in order to their relief, but did not think it safe to attack you, with an Army so much inferiour to yours. After the taking these two Places, you return'd to *Versailles*, leaving the greatest part of your Army under the Command of Mareschal *Schomberg*. The rest

you sent to the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who Commanded in *Germany*. The Prince of *Lorrain* was there at the Head of the Emperour's Army, and at last besieged *Phillipsbourg*; which made so good a defence, that the Duke of *Luxembourg* had as much time as he could wish, for the relieving it.

The Prince of *Orange* sat down before *Maestricht*, where the Commander in chief (as the Governour of *Phillipsbourg* had done) so well perform'd his Duty, that Marechal *Schomberg* gave Marechal *Humieres*, time enough to form the Siege of *Aires*. For which he lent him part of his Troops, but recalling them again when the Siege was ended, he Marched directly towards *Maestricht*, so that there had been a bloody Battel, if the Prince of *Orange*, who had lost six weeks time, and six or seven thousand Men at this Siege, had not thought fit to quit it.

This prosperous Success of *your Majesty's* Arms, made the *Dutch* sick of the War; but that which troubled them more, was, the misfortune that beset them the beginning of this Year at *Messina*. They had sent into those Seas the Famous *de Ruyter*, who from being at first but a common Sailer, was now preferr'd to the chief Command of their Fleet. Never was a Man more fam'd upon the two Seas, he came off so bravely in all Engagements, that his very Name was enough to make his Party Victorious; but your Fleet got the better of him. About three Months after, not thinking himself sufficiently beaten, he try'd a second Engagement,
and

and was worse handled than at first, for he was not only beaten, but received a wound, of which in ten days after he dyed at *Syracuse*.

After these two Victories, *your Majesty* could desire nothing more to compleat your Glory, and continue your Protection to the *Messineses*, than to have had the like happy end of all your Enterprises in *Germany*. But the Duke of *Luxembourg* met with so many difficulties there, that having tryed a hundred ways in vain to relieve *Pbhillpsbourg*; he quite abandon'd the design. So that after a Siege of more than three Months, the Prince of *Lorrain*, who had never yet commanded in chief, had the pleasure of reducing so strong a place. But he was like to have met his Death in the midst of his Triumph, for the Bridge by which he was to enter into the Town, as he was passing over it, fell under him: Which, Report says, was contriv'd by some of the Greatest Persons in the Emperor's Court, who seeing him in so much Favour, had resolv'd to destroy him.

The *Swedes* continued the War, but unfortunately lost *Elsembourg*, *Lanscron*, *Christianstat*, and some other places. And tho' they had an advantage over Major General *Duncan*, and a Victory at *Lunden*, yet were they never the better for it.

Fortune was constant to none but *your Majesty*. The City of *Valenciennes* fell into your Hands the next Campaign, tho' it was one of the strongest in all *Flanders*, and defended by a good Garrison. If you would have taken the advantage, you might have put all to the Sword;

but your Clemency became an Advocate for those poor unhappy People, and you freely gave 'em both their Lives and Goods, when they did not expect to have saved either. After this, you attack'd *Cambray* and *St. Omer* at a time; which oblig'd you to divide your Forces, so that the Prince of *Orange* thought now or never was his time to do somewhat. He advanc'd as far as *Cassel*, where he was defeated by Monsieur your Brother : After which *Cambray* and *St. Omer* did not long hold out ; *your Majesty* having done all this before the time other Generals use to take the Field, your Reputation (which was already very great throughout all Europe) was now exalted to so high a degree of Glory, that you were look'd upon as the greatest Man in the Universe

The Prince of *Lorrain*, whose great and generous Soul did rather emulate than envy your brave Exploits; redoubled his Courage, and came to your Frontiers at the Head of a gallant Army. Having taken *Mouzon*, a Place of no defence, he sent a Detachment over the *Meuse*, which put the Province of *Champagne* into a Fright, but did them no great harm : For this Detachment durst not go far from their Army, nor their Army follow the Detachment, *Mareschal Crequi* being advanc'd in order to observe 'em. But 'tis not so easy a thing to enter into an Enemy's Country, for a General must consider, whether he can go out again when he pleases; especially when he hath no Places near to retreat to, nor Neighbours from whom he can expect any assistance.

However,

However, the Prince of *Lorrain*. did not despair of entring again into his own Country, to which he now pretended a greater right than before, by the Death of his Uncle, which hap-pen'd a little after the taking of *Treves*. But since this depended upon the Prince of *Orange*, who had promis'd to march into *France*; he waited for the Effects of that Promise, to regulate accordingly his own Attempts. The Prince of *Orange*'s hope was grounded upon *your Majesty*'s way of prosecuting the War: You had not many Troops, but made use of them with that Judgment and Prudence, that tho' the Enemy's forces were more numerous than yours, yet every Year you added some Town to your Con-quests, which you did by keeping your Troops together all the Winter; whereas the Enemy was oblig'd to separate theirs, and quarter them in places so remote from one another, that they could not come together, when you open'd the Campaign. Taking this course, you did your Business early in the Spring, and then sending a Detachment into *Germany*, you acted the defensive Part in *Flanders* all the rest of the Campaign.

It was upon this account, the Prince of *Orange* resolv'd so late in the Year to attempt the Siege of *Charleroy*. I have already told *your Majesty* why he had such a mind to this Place: But he had now another Reason, he pretended if he took it, he could march into *France* when he would, tho' he was much mistaken in his account; for upon notice that *Mareschal Schomberg* was marching directly to him, and that *your Majesty*

Majesty was preparing to follow, he stay'd for
 it her, but rais'd the Siege.

Upon this Check given to the Prince of *Orange*,
 the Prince of *Lorrain* saw he could no longer
 depend upon him, but frustrated of his hopes,
 he quitted *Mouzon*, and march'd back again up
 the *Rhine* : Marechal *Crequi* followed him, and
 after divers Encampments on both sides, they
 came so near together at *Kokesberg*, that there
 pass'd a very hot Skirmish between 'em. The
 Emperour's Cuirassiers handled your *Majesty's*
 light Horse very rudely ; but your Guards de
Maison had the same advantage over them ; so
 that both Armies fled before, and pursu'd the
 Enemy in half an Hour's time.

The Prince of *Lorrain* judging by this little
 Tryal, that it was better to go into Winter-
 Quarters, than to stay longer in the Field,
 retreated farther back into *Germany*. Maref-
 chal *Crequi* made a feight, as if he would have
 done the like ; but marching back again, he
 attack'd and took *Fribourg*, before the Prince
 could come to relieve it.

You beat the Enemy in *Catalonia*, and ravag'd
 that Country every Year. The *Spaniards* lost
 there the Battel of *Pouille* : Nor could they do
 any thing at *Messina*, tho' they distributed a
 great deal of Money, in hopes to have 'em cut
 the Throats of your Garrison. You finish'd this
 prosperous Campaign, with the taking of *St. Guil-
 lain*, which so abated the Courage of the *Hol-
 landers*, that tho the Prince of *Orange* had mar-
 ry'd the Duke of *York's* Daughter, and promis'd
 by that Match to make *England* declare for
 them,

them, yet the *Dutch* had more mind than ever, to make Peace.

Monsieur *Louvoy* had serv'd *your Majesty* so well in all your Enterprizes, and was become so great a Favourite, that I was no longer able to stand against him. When Chancellor *Seguier* died, I was a Competitor with Monsieur *Louvoy's* Father for that Place, which he did all he could to obtain for him, I got my self to be made an Advocate, A Qualification requir'd in the Person that hath that Office; but *your Majesty* to reconcile us, gave it to Monsieur *d' Alligre* Councillor of State, tho' his great Age and Infirmities render'd him incapable to execute it; so that his Son officiated for him: But he was of so odd a Humour, that no body car'd to have any thing to do with him. *D' Alligre* dying, Monsieur *Tellier* and I renew'd our Contest, which lasted not long on my Part; for *your Majesty* commanded me to quit my Pretensions, and gave that honourable Office to Monsieur *Tellier*.

The Prince of *Orange's* Marriage wrought a real Change in *England*; it begot such contentious debates, that the King of *England* was in a manner forc'd to sign a League against *your Majesty*: He re-demanded his Troops, which (not being able to refuse) you sent back to him. But by so long a way about, that Monsieur *Louvoy* had time to debauch the greatest part of 'em. For instead of suffering them to imbarque at *Calais*, or some Port near their Country, he chose one that was farthest off; pretending that his Britanick Majesty had no just cause to complain,

plain, because no particular place was nam'd in your Treaty with him. Which may serve for a Lesson to all publick Ministers, when they treat with a foreign Prince: For if the least thing be omitted in their Negotiation, they may be sure it will be made use of against their Master; and when a Fault is once done, 'tis too late to think of mending it.

This Change in *your Majesty's* Affairs, oblig'd you to quit *Messina*; where there was no longer any safety for your Troops: For if the *English* joyned their Forces with the *Dutch*, it was impossible to resist them. This was what I long ago foresaw, and I took the liberty to tell *your Majesty*, that you would be necessitated to augment your Fleet, by building more Ships: but Monsieur *Louvoy*, who would, if he could, have destroy'd the Marine Establishment, always oppos'd it; pretending two Reasons for it. The First, That no cause of Jealousie was to be given to *England*. The other, That your Kingdom was not able to support so great a Charge. He made use of the same Pretence, to dissuade *your Majesty* from the making a Harbour upon the Coast of *Normandy*, which you will want, in case you ever have a War with *England*: For if your Ships at any time should receive much Damage, where shall they find a Retreat? 'Tis a long way out of the Channel to *Brest* and *Rochefort*, which ought to be seriously consider'd by *your Majesty*.

'Tis not long ago I gave you my Opinion concerning such a Port. The Bay of *Colville*, seems a Place to have been expressly design'd by Nature

ture for it. I thought *your Majesty*, when you had heard my Reasons was so well satisfied, that you would presently have given order to begin the Work. But I since understood that Monsieur *Louvois* put by the Business, tho' so absolutely necessary for the good of your Kingdom, insinuating that the Place I have mention'd, was not so fit as I represented it: And that the Reason why I did so much commend it, was, because I was willing to oblige the House of *Matignon*, to which my Son was ally'd; whose Lands lying near the Place, and they having the King's Lieutenancy in that Country, it would both increase their revenue, and augment their Credit.

What Poyson there is in Malice, and what dangerous Effects it doth produce, I leave *your Majesty* to judge. But it seems very difficult for a great King, who sees with other Mens Eyes, to defend himself against the Artifice of those that would deceive him; especially, when they have done him such Services, as may incline them to think their Intention is good. I know but one way for a Prince to secure himself in such cases, which is to trust no body; but strictly to examine things himself, and rather be upon the Place to see what is done, than be deceiv'd by being too credulous; for in trusting a third Person, there are many Inconveniences. There are few Princes but must rely upon a Minister in most of their Affairs; and tho' it is not so in *your Majesty's* Court, where there are two or three Persons, who will not bend and submit to Monsieur *Louvois's* Authority; yet for certain, there
is

is a secret Jealousie still retain'd in the Heart which commonly works the very Effects that are fear'd.

Your Majesty's Prudence, which never forsakes you in the reverse of Fortune, seem'd to increase : you were not at all daunted with the Change of his *Britanick Majesty* ; but on the contrary rather made it serviceable to you, in bringing the *Dutch* to a Peace. You put such Jealousies into their Heads, that they wrote to their Embassadors, they should endeavour to remove all Difficulties that would obviate a Peace.

Your Majesty knowing that the way to make them more desirous of it, was to terrifie them by some new Conquest ; you besieg'd the City of *Gand*, which made little resistance. You knew so well how to blind your Enemies, by pretending to attack some other Place, that the Town was in a manner taken, before they perceiv'd your Design. You afterward made your self Master of *Tpres*, and of Fort *Lewen* ; which by its advantageous Scituation, was thought impregnable : But was surpriz'd one clear Night by the Garrison of *Maestricht*, and taken by Scalado.

Such prosperous proceedings should in all appearance, have made the *Spaniards* as desirous of a Peace, as the *Dutch* ; But they knowing that what had pass'd in *England*, had already made *your Majesty* quit *Messina*, and inferring from thence, the League they had made with that Crown, would do Miracles in their Favour ; they endeavour'd to keep the *Dutch* from making

king a Peace ; but *your Majesty* remov'd all those Obstacles, by a piece of Policy which Posterity will admire. You concluded a separate Peace with *Holland* : But before the Prince of *Orange* was inform'd of it, he concluded, if he fell upon your Army, which then block'd up *Mons*, and could give it a Blow, he should hinder the conclusion of the Treaty ; he very furiously charg'd your Troops ; The Duke of *Luxembourg*, who had heard the Peace was concluded, and imagin'd the Prince of *Orange* likewise knew it, relying upon it, was not in such a Posture of Defence, as he should have been, so that he and the Intendant had like to have been taken.

The *Spaniards* and the Emperour were, after this, so happy as to come to an accomodation with *your Majesty* ; but the Northern Princes were unwilling to restore to the King of *Sweden*, what they had taken from him. *Your Majesty* oblig'd them to it by the Treaty you had sign'd ; in consideration of which, you restor'd *Maestricht* to the *Hollanders*, and several Places to the *Spaniards*, from whom you had lately taken *Puicerda*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, who was this Year come again into *Germany*, where he made no better a Campaign than he did the Year before ; because *Mareschal Crequi* not only prevented his design of retaking *Fribourg* ; but beat a party of his Troops in the Plain of *Rhinfield*, took *Sekinghem*, *Offembourg*, the Fort of *Kell*, burnt the Bridge of *Strasbourg*, and did so many other Exploits in that Country, as made him pass for another *Turenne*. The Prince of
Lorrain

Lorrain I say, was comprehended in the Emperour's Treaty, by which *your Majesty* was oblig'd to restore to him his Country; but under such hard conditions, that rather than submit to them, he chose to retire to his Imperial Majesty, whose Sister he had married the beginning of that Winter.

C H A P. VI.

Containing that which pass'd after the Treaty of Nimeghen, till the Year 1684.

YOUR Majesty having now nothing more on your Hands, than the War of the North, for which the Emperour was to give you passage: You order'd your Army to march on that side. Mareschal *Créqui*, who commanded, knowing the Truce which *your Majesty* had made with your Enemies was expir'd; drew near to the *Weſer*, where *Spaen*, General of the Marquess of *Brandenbourg's* Troops, resolv'd to oppose his Passage. But your Army, which had pass'd the *Rhine* in the Face of your Enemies, pass'd this River also in spite of *Spaen*. The Elector and his Allies, then saw they were not able to deal with your Forces; and it being in your Power to make what Treaty you pleas'd, you restor'd those Places to the King of *Sweden* he had lost, among which were some of greater consequence than those I have mention'd.

Your

Your Majesty, having in this manner given Peace to *Europe*, the King of *Spain* sent the *Marquess de les Balbases* to *your Majesty*, to demand Mademoiselle your Brother's Daughter in marriage. This Princess, who would have been much better pleas'd to marry Monseigneur the Dauphin, wept bitterly when she heard the News: But *your Majesty*, without any delay, nam'd the Chancellor, the Duke de *Villeroy*, Monsieur *Pompone* and my self, to treat this Affair with the Embassador; but no body could pacifie the Princess. *Your Majesty*, thinking there could no where be found so good a match for her, without consulting whether she lik'd it or not, sign'd the Treaty of Marriage.

She was now to leave *France* and *your Majesty*, which she did with such a torrent of Tears, that made all the Court pity her: She never ceas'd weeping all the way, tho' Prince *Harcourt* and his Lady, who had the care of conducting her, told her, what prejudice it might be to her in the Court of *Spain*; where were those, who without any occasion, would be ready enough to do her ill Offices. But her Affliction was so great, that she was incapable of Counsel, and she seem'd to have a secret Sence and Foresight of that which afterward happen'd to her.

I had pray'd *your Majesty* to give this Employment to the Prince and Princess *Harcourt*, who stood in need of *your Majesty's* Favour; for his Father was very unkind to him, and led to strange a Life, that I thought fit to speak of it to *your Majesty*; he kept a Woman, and as some say,
caus'd

caus'd her Uncle to be drown'd, because he was against their living so scandalously together. *Your Majesty*, who will suffer no such Disorders, commanded me to send and Exempt of your Guards to *Harcourt*, to bring away the Woman to Prison, who was suspected to be accessary to the drowning of her Uncle; but he had sent her into *England*; so that the Exempt came back without her.

This was a Lesson, one would have thought, might have made the Son wiser. But Examples are sometimes to very little purpose, unless we have dispositions in our selves to make good use of them. This Prince, tho' he Married a very handsome discreet vertuous Woman, yet car'd very little for her, and manag'd all his other affairs so imprudently, that by his own fault, he lost a very great fortune. The Family of *Guise* was extinct by the death of the last Duke of that name, who was the Son of a daughter of Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans*, *your Majesty's* Uncle. Madam *Guise*, Heiress to the deceased Duke, was an old Princess never marry'd, and being a very good Woman, had a mind to revive her Family. She cast her Eyes upon Prince *Harcourt*; a Friend of hers, but who was more a Friend to the Prince, having given her a very good Character of him: So that she sold him the Dutchy of *Guise*, whereof the yearly Rent amounted to Forty Thousand Crowns, beside other Lands: He not being Master of Money enough to pay for it, she acquitted him of a Million. But instead of giving his Friend Thanks, who had done him so great a Kindness;

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he began to speak ill of him to the Princess, who judging by his horrible Ingratitude, what an unworthy Man he was, undid all all she had done, having by contract reserv'd to her self, a Power of Revocation. Thus we see, what great Fortune Men sometimes lose by their own Folly. But to *your Majesty's* Praise be it spoken, you gave the Duke of *Main* better Counsel, when you preach'd Gratitude to him, on the like Occasion, when Madam *Montpensier* gave him the Principality of *Dombes*, and the County of *Deu* : Two as considerable Estates as any in *France*; whereof, one alone cost Seven Hundred Thousand Crowns. Certainly, there can be no Fault in Man, greater than Ingratitude; and if it be so great in a Private Man, 'tis much more, in a Prince, who ought to have a generous Soul, and a Disposition always to do Good.

Your Majesty, whose Power was become considerably greater, by the advantageous Peace you had made: began a war in your own Dominions, which necessity had for a while kept back, the Circumstances of your Affairs requiring you not to disturb the *Hugonots*, of whom you long ago resolv'd to purge your Kingdom; but you went on with this Work, first by taking away the Chambers of the Edict, establish'd in the Parliaments of *Tholouse*, *Bordeaux*, and *Grenoble*. Your Reputation was great enough now to venture upon many things, which you durst not attempt before. You caus'd Mass to be said in *Geneva*, which had never been done

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since

since the Year 1535, when the Priests were driven out of that Town.

There are certain times more proper than others, to give success to what one undertakes; and it is in chusing such times, that a Prince shews his admirable Prudence. A Prince cannot expect absolute Submission to his Will and Pleasure, till he hath magnified his Name, by some great Actions; and he ought to know, that sometimes his Reputation will do him more Service, than his Power.

The Neutrality which the Duke of *Bavaria* observ'd during the War, cost *your Majesty* a great deal of ready Money. Beside, you promis'd the Dutches his Wife, that Monseigneur the *Dauphin* should marry their Daughter: But seeing a Prince should always take care beforehand what he promiseth, because he must never break his word; you sent to enquire whether this were like to be a fit Match, and whether this Princess's Person and good Qualities did deserve so good a Husband. But finding nothing to discourage you from desiring this Alliance, a good Education, a great deal of Wit, and in appearance, great respect for *your Majesty* and the *Dauphin*; who tho' he were not above Nineteen Years of Age, yet you resolv'd no longer to defer marrying him; you sent my Brother who had been one of your Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to the Court of *Bavaria*, to conclude this Match; and you were so impatient to hear whether some Obstacles were remov'd, which he met with, because her Father and Mother were dead, that you ordered him to dis-

patch

patch Courier upon Courier, to bring *your Majesty* Intelligence how things went. He who was first sent to give you notice the Contract was sign'd, went, as was usual, to Monsieur *Pomponne*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which Place you bestow'd on him, when he least dreamt of it, and for which he was oblig'd to Monsieur *Tellier*, who fearing you would have given it to Cardinal *Donzi*, or to the President *de Mémes*, who both stood for it; and that their Merit would have eclips'd his Son's, who was not yet in his full Lustre. He therefore imploy'd his Credit with *your Majesty*, in Favour of Monsieur *Pomponne*; since which, Monsieur *Louvois* hath been still designing to unite this Secretaryship to his, pretending to *your Majesty* he ought to do the Business of both, and that the Secrets of the War, and of Foreign Affairs, ought to be in the Hands of one Person.

Your Majesty had the Goodness to communicate to me, what had pass'd. Whereupon I took the Liberty to say, that it did not become Monsieur *Louvois* to be so Ambitious: That it appear'd by what he desir'd, he had an itch of commanding others, which perhaps another Monarch wou'd not like. That by his Carriage he gave People occasion to think, nothing cou'd satisfy him, till you had put your Crown upon his Head; and that if I were in your Place, I would give him such an Answer, as should teach him to know himself so well, as never for the Future to make the like Request.

In this Condition were things, when my Brother sent me a Duplicate of the Letter he had written to *your Majesty*; but which Monsieur *Pompone* had not yet deliver'd, because he was in the Country looking after his Building. I complemented *your Majesty*, thinking I should tell you nothing but what you already knew; *your Majesty* answer'd, Monsieur *Pompone* had given you no notice of any thing, and that you wonder'd at it. When Monsieur *Pompone* return'd, and would have excus'd his Fault, *your Majesty* told him he might go home again, since he had so much Business of his own, and that you would put another in his Place, that should take more care to do his Duty: And at the same time sent for me, and told me that you would give Monsieur *Pompone's* Place to my Brother. I thank'd *your Majesty*, and dispatch'd a Courier to *Munick*, to acquaint my Brother with the good News.

I know very well, what a Story some made of this Business. It was said, I held Intelligence with my Brother, and that I receiv'd a Letter from him, before Monsieur *Pompone* had any, and that we play'd him this Trick to get his Place. But I appeal to *your Majesty*, who better knows than any Person whatever, the Truth of all that pass'd in this Affair.

This Favour which *your Majesty* did me, was a new Subject of Jealousie for Monsieur *Louvois*. But not daring publicly to shew his Malice till he had a fit Opportunity; he soon met with one, at least he thought it such, seeing he did not fail to speak against me to
your

your Majesty; you daily went on with the Works at *Versailles*, or to say Truth, you were re-building it new from the Ground: For you had twice pull'd it down, to build it according to a new Model that had been given you. But tho' it be not usual to see a Floor fall in a new built House, there did one sink, which alarm'd the whole Court, every one being sufficiently frightened. - Monsieur *Louvois* made a greater Noise about it than any body else, and I knew he indeavour'd to perswade *your Majesty*, that I was not so Honest as I should be, in my Overseer's Place of your Buildings. That I and the Workmen agreed together, or else it was impossible *your Majesty* could be so ill serv'd. As you did me the Justice not to believe it, so you had the Goodness not to tell me what he had said; but being inform'd of the Discourse he had with *your Majesty*, I was quickly even with him, in telling you; that if to prove a Man a Knave, who had the oversight of others, there needed no more, than to shew that those who were employ'd by him, did not do their work well. Monsieur *Louvois* was more faulty than I, for he had ordered many Fortifications to be erected, which were no sooner finish'd, but under specious Pretences were pull'd down again; and that in many of your Garrison Towns, it was observ'd, things were done and undone, without seeing any necessity for it. That *your Majesty* knew that I had done nothing but by your Command, and that I never in my Life propos'd of my self, the pulling down any Building. That Builders and Workmen had play'd

play'd the Knaves, could not be deny'd, but I made them, at their own Charge, build up again, not only what had fallen down, but that also which should be found defective. And it were to be wish'd, the like would be done for *your Majesty* in all Places where Faults may be found: Particularly at *Tournay*, where the Engineers have done nothing well. They made a Ditch much wider than it should have been, but he that set them to Work, never found fault with them, till *your Majesty* spoke your self of it: But instead of doing what was necessary, and mending the first Fault, they committed a Second much worse, by making a *Faussebray* in the Ditch, which render'd the whole Fortification so defective, that unless all were new done, the Place would never be worth any thing. My Brother, to whom you gave the Government of it, and who understands these things better than I do, can testifie what I have told *your Majesty*: By which you may conclude, that If I am Faulty, your Minister is much more than I am, who believes he knows much more than Monsieur *Vauban*, and all the Engineers in *Europe*.

All that was to precede the *Dauphin's* Marriage being now agreed on, *your Majesty* sent the Duke de *Crequi*, First Gentleman of your Bed-Chamber to *Munich*, to carry the Marriage Presents to the Princess of *Bavaria*. They shew'd *your Majesty's* magnificence, and dazzl'd the Eyes of all her Brother's Court. To whom the *Dauphin* sent his Procuration, who as his Proxy espoused the Princess. She parted to come for *France*, and being arriv'd at *Schelestat*, she there found

found the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Richelieu*, to whom *your Maſteſty* had given the Government of her Houſehould. She receiv'd their Reſpects in ſo proud and haughty a Manner, that the Dutcheſs of *Richelieu* wrote me that very Day, if ſhe had known what ſhe had now ſeen, ſhe would have pray'd *your Maſteſty* ſhe might ſtill have waited on the Queen your Wife, as ſhe did before. All the Court, and eſpecially *your Maſteſty*, had ſo great an Opinion of this Princeſs, that I durſt not tell you what had been written to me : I thought it beſt to ſtay till you your ſelf had ſeen her, which would be ſuddenly, becauſe you had fix'd a Day to go and receive her in *Champagne*. You and your Queen went near Fifty Leagues to meet her ; but I know not whether *your Maſteſty* thought your ſelf paid for your Pains, ſince it was impoſſible for you not to obſerve this Princeſs's Pride, of which the Dutcheſs of *Richelieu* had given me Notice. For my own Part, I ſaw it but too well ; when I had the Honour to pay my Reſpects to her, ſhe ſcarce vouchſaf'd to hear what I ſaid, and I ſhould certainly have been more troubled, if I had known ſhe had treated *Monſieur Louvoy* any better. But I my ſelf was a Witneſs, with what coldneſs ſhe receiv'd him and all other Perſons of Quality. *Your Maſteſty*, whoſe Prudence is to be admir'd in all things, ſome Days after begun to praiſe the Queen your Wife, and ſaid in her preſence, ſhe had ſo gain'd the Love of all the *French*, by her Courteſie and and ſweet Diſpoſition, that they lov'd her better than they did you.

The *Dauphiness*, who had Wit, knew well enough that this discourse was intended for her. But it being very difficult to reform those Faults which are natural to us, she could never bring her self to that affable and gracious Air, which gains the Hearts of the *French Nation*; and which they value a thousand times more than they do any other thing.

This Marriage follow'd that of *Mademoiselle de Blois*, a very beautiful Princess, in whose Praise I should be large, were it not that some would say, I thereby design'd to recommend my own Wife, who had the Care of her Education. She marry'd the Prince of *Comi*, the Son of him of whom I have already spoken, who died about the Year 1666. and was Governour of *Languedoc*; which Government *your Majesty* afterward bestow'd upon the Duke of *Vernevil*, who was very old, so that this young Prince hoping after the Duke's Death, you would gratifie him with it, behav'd himself very dutifully to *your Majesty*, but did not treat the Princess his Wife so well. I took the Liberty, by *your Majesty's* Order, to tell him of it. You said, he ought to set a greater Value upon so beautiful a Princess, and whose Wit was equal to her Beauty. But the ill Company he kept, made him deaf to all I represented, which so much displeas'd *your Majesty*, that when the Duke of *Vernevil* died, you gave his Government to the Duke of *Main*.

This shews us, that in a Court virtuously govern'd, men must be virtuous if they expect Rewards. No Man should value himself upon
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the greatness of his Birth, nor upon the Protection he naturally ought to have. A Monarch regards neither, who as *your Majesty* regulates all his Actions according to Merit and Justice. In such a Court as yours, a Person of great Birth, who doth not do his Duty, is less regarded than another; because he hath been better taught. *Your Majesty* will know all that he doth, and of what he is capable, which is the Reason why *your Majesty* makes so little Account of some Persons, who by the Rank they hold in the Kingdom, one would think should make a better Figure, than at present they do. But 'tis a difficult thing to be both Young and Wise: When the Prince I now speak of, shall come to riper Years, I will undertake, that *your Majesty* will be better pleas'd with him. No young Person is free from Faults, and the deceas'd Prince of *Conti*, who died like a Saint, was guilty of more than his Son. There is no remedy against the Follies of Youth; I can give *your Majesty* a Proof of it in my own Family: be pleas'd to cast your eyes upon my Son, I have been many times forc'd to treat him very ill, without being able to do any good upon him; nothing but time wrought his change, so that he would have put me out of all patience, if I had not had enough to wait till his understanding grew riper.

It was in this year, that *Monsieur Fouquet* died at *Pignerol*, whom you condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment, instead of the Banishment to which he was sentenced. He bore his disgrace with a constancy, which could never be expected

sted from a man who in the midst of the troublesome affairs of his place, mingled all the pleasures, I should rather say, all the Debaucheries of Youth; but God gave him the Grace to recollect himself, and die a good Christian. Whence we ought to conclude, that God knows better than we what is fit for us; and that we are not sensible of our own wants, when we murmur against Providence; since we oftner lose our selves in prosperity than in adversity; but nature is so corrupt, that we would have the way to Heaven strew'd with flowers, instead of the thorns we meet in it.

The Peace was already become a burden to *Monsieur Louvois*, tho' it were so lately made, that people scarcely had had time to reap the fruits of it. He advis'd *Your Majesty* to make your self Master of *Strasbourg* and *Casal*; but seeing he knew that to attempt it, would again Arm all *Europe*, he sent persons he could trust to both those places with Bills of Exchange for very great Sums, in hopes to succeed in their Negotiation.

While this was transacting, *Your Majesty* resolv'd to send your Fleet against the Corsairs of *Tripoli*, under the Command of *du Quene*, who was another *de Ruiter*. Eight of their Ships not being able to recover the Port from whence they came, retreated to *Chio*, where they thought themselves safe, because that Island was under the protection of the *Grand Seignior*, with whom they believ'd *Your Majesty* would never willingly have any Quarrel. But *du Quene* knowing that by the Treaty of Commerce, which you had
made

made with the *Turk*, he was not to give any Retreat to those Pyrates, he fell upon 'em and beat 'em to pieces with his Cannon. This boldness of *du Quene* occasion'd great trouble to your Embassador at the Port, where he was very ill treated, and had been us'd much worse, had he not pacified the *Grand Seignior*, with very considerable Presents. You had no mind to consent to it, yet knew there was a necessity for it, when you consider'd your Dominions were too far distant from his, to make him sensible of your Power. Besides, if you had not prevented what he threatned, you might have lost the advantage you made of the *Levant* Trade; so that a Prince is as much obliged as a private man, to have a regard to his interests, which are often of such consideration, that he is in prudence bound to dissemble many things.

The secret Negotiation concerning *Strasbourg* and *Casal*, had all the success *Monsieur Louvoy* could wish. These two considerable places deliver'd themselves into *Your Majesties* hands, without striking a blow. But though they made so great an addition to your Power, that it seem'd you now made all *Europe* tremble, yet I know not whether I may Congratulate *Your Majesty* upon it, seeing it hath done that which I predicted, when I told *Your Majesty* what answer the Envoy of *Spain* gave your Minister, when he shew'd him your Magazine at *Douay*. This bold stroke hath awaken'd all those that are jealous of your glory, and they will be glad of an opportunity, to do you all the mischief they can.

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Du Quêne, after the Exploit he did at *Chio*, became so terrible to the *Turks* of *Tripoli*, that he forc'd them to beg peace of *Your Majesty*. The year following he chastis'd the *Algerines*, and Bombarded their Town, to shew all the Barbarous people on that Coast, how great was your Power. The King of *Morocco* and *Fex* sent Embassadours to desire your Amity, the Treaty you made with him was of great advantage to your people, who begun to drive a Trade in the *Levant*, of which all other Nations became jealous.

This among all Politicians, past for an effect of that prudence, which I have always observed in *Your Majesty*; but they never yet understood, what made you give credit to those flatterers, who begun to embroil you with the Pope.

The difference begun about so small a matter, that to speak freely, 'tis not worth a man's pains to mention it. *Madam* the Duchess of *Orleans* your Aunt, whose Marriage was contested by Cardinal *Richelieu* while he liv'd, and never approv'd till your Majesties reign; made a Vow if she could get off from that affair with honour, to build a Religious House in this Kingdom; and to perform it, founded one at *Charonne*. She brought young Ladies from her own Country, who by virtue of a Bull from the Pope, settled themselves there, and chose among themselves an Abbess every three years. The first and last Abbess was still the same person, who being much belov'd by the Duchess, they to please her, at every three years end, Elected the same again till she died.

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She died in the year 1673, and my Wife who sometimes went to this Covent, never seeing but the same Abbess, desired me to pray *Your Majesty* to bestow the place upon one of our Relations. *Your Majesty*, without examining any more than I did, whether the nomination belong'd to you, granted my request; but she for whom I had made suit, met with opposition when she came to be received by the Nuns, who pretended it was their right to chuse a Superior. Vanity which reigns more in Covents than abroad in the world, suggested to them, that it was against their interest to suffer any but one of their own House to be Abbess, seeing all of them one after another, might come to be preferr'd to that Dignity. But she whom *Your Majesty* had nam'd, being at last thought by them a very fit person, having many good Qualities, not so easily found in another, they all agreed to receive her, still saving to themselves their right of Election.

This good Woman had lived but three years Abbess, when *Monsieur Louvoy* beg'd her place of *Your Majesty*, for a person that was recommended to him: You gave him a grant of it, but she being of a quite different temper from her that died, so frightened the Nuns, that there was a necessity of using *Your Majesties* and the Archbishop's of *Paris* authority, to get her Install'd. The Pope in the mean time did not only refuse his Bulls, but sent a Brief to the Nuns to chuse another Superior; which so piqu'd the Archbishop, that he coucell'd *Your Majesty* to condemn and cancel the Bull. The Parliament which is ever ready to extend their Authority beyond all legal

legal limits, past such a Vote as the Archbishop desir'd. The Pope thunder'd against this Vote, and things grew to that heat, that the Parliament past another Vote, by which the Nuns were sentenc'd to quit their Covent, which was executed with strange rigour. The Parliaments pretence in passing this Arrest, was that the Covent ow'd almost as much as it was worth, and therefore it was fit to keep it from undoing a great many people, by running deeper in debt.

The same thing almost happen'd at the Abby of *Longchamp*, where the Duke de *Feuillade* would have made one of his Sisters Abbess, against the will of the Pope; but *Your Majesty* having seen the Records of the Abby, by which it appear'd that the Kings your Predecessors had granted the Nuns the right of Electing their Superior; you suffer'd 'em to enjoy it, without any further disturbance. The Pope was much displeas'd with what had past at *Charonne*; at another time, less matter would have provok'd him to raise troubles in your Kingdom; but *Your Majesties* Reputation was now arriv'd to that heighth, that his Holiness fearing the event of things, dissembled his resentment, resolving nevertheless to shew it to the purpose at a more seasonable opportunity.

He was very angry with the Archbishop of *Paris*, who instead of pacifying him, incens'd him more by that which at *Rome* was look'd on as a direful encroachment on the Authority of the Holy See; tho' call'd by another name at *Paris*, and other parts of the Kingdom. The Pope's Nuncio being fallen sick in the *Fauxbourg*
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St. Germain, where he dwelt, instead of sending for the Parish Priest to give him the Sacrament, sent for a Monk to confess him, and give him the * *Viaticum*. The Archbishop prosecuted the Monk and his Covent for coming without his leave to the Nuncio, who dying 'twas thought the Archbishop would not permit him to be bury'd in Holy ground, so great was his fault for not applying himself to his Pastor; but he was at last Interr'd in the place he himself had appointed, upon condition he should first be carry'd to his own Parish Church.

* A Term is the Church of *Rome* for the Sacrament, which is given to People at the point of death.

In 1677. there arose another difference between his Holiness and *Your Majesty*, to the Vacant Benefices in the Diocesses of *Alet* and *Pamiers*; to which you claim'd a right by virtue of the *Regale*; which being oppos'd by those two Bishops, you made use of the Civil Power to make good your Nomination. These Bishops, who liv'd very Pious Lives, and were an Example to all the Clergy, laid open their Case to your Council, who took no notice of it; but so far approv'd of what *Your Majesty* had done, that the Bishops were forced to write to the Pope. His Holiness having referr'd the consideration of the business to a Consistory, dispatch'd a Brief to *Your Majesty*, whereby he exhorted you to desist from an attempt wherein you were engag'd by evil Counsel; but the Archbishop who did not love the Court of *Rome*, for not being dispos'd to give him a Cardinal's Cap, so far perswaded *Your Majesty* you were in the right,

right, that you answer'd the Pope according to his advice.

The Pope sent you another Brief, wherein he answer'd the Reasons you gave him ; but the Archbishop of *Paris*, who would have been glad of a Schism to have made himself greater than he was, perswaded *Your Majesty* to seize the Temporalties of the Bishop of *Pamiers*, that necessity might force him to a Submission. But this Bishop who led a much better Life than the Archbishop, with a true Apostolick Zeal, resolutely maintain'd the Rights of the Church ; which so vex'd the Archbishop, that he prevail'd with *Your Majesty* to have him arrested, after which he thought he should meet with no opposition, and that when the Shepherd could no longer watch over his Flock, he might do what he pleas'd. But he was much mistaken ; for those Clergy-men who were of the Bishops Sentiments, and all of the Chapter, made use of their Authority to maintain the right for which their Bishop was imprison'd. The Archbishop of *Paris* declar'd War against 'em ; and having dispers'd 'em by Exile or Imprisonment, the Pope, who had sent *Your Majesty* divers other Briefs, to which Answers were return'd not a jot more satisfactory than to the first, undertook the Bishop of *Tholouse*, whom the Archbishop had perswaded to act as Metropolitan, and cancel several Decrees made by the Grand Vicars that took part with their Bishop. The Archbishop at last prosecuted the business with so much heat, that after he had procured a Sentence against one of the Grand Vicars, to have his

his Head cut off, he set upon the Pope, and advis'd *your Majesty* to have his Briefs examin'd, wherein he pretended were Expressions that struck at your Royal Authority, and which were against the Liberty of the *Gallican Church*.

If *your Majesty* would have taken my advice in this affair, as well as in that of your Finances; I would freely have told you my opinion. Which is, that *your Majesty* will never get any thing by falling out with his Holiness. But as this business was above my reach, so you consulted none but Men of the Mystery, and parties concern'd; most of them gave advice, from which posterity will think they can never clear themselves. *your Majesty* by their advice in 1681, called together an Assembly of Prelates, to examine the Popes Briefs; they met the first time at the Archbishop's of *Paris*, to the number of seven Archbishops, and thirty Bishops, they chose for their Presidents the Archbishops of *Paris* and *Rheims*, both of them very able men; but upon this occasion, there was not so much need of Science as Sentiments of Religion.

The others who made up this Assembly, were most of them of the same mould, and so devoted to *your Majesty's* Will and Pleasure, that if you had commanded them to preach the *Alcoran* instead of the Gospel, they would certainly have done it; that which was to be debated was no sooner propos'd, but down went the Pope, and all of the Bishop of *Pamiers* Party. This Assembly stretch'd the *Regale* much further than was intended by *your Majesty*; and to their greater shame, writ a Letter to you in so particular an I

odd a Stile, that one would hardly believe it came from Men of Parts ; as there were some among them.

But their Complaisance and their Passion went so far , that after examining the Briefs, they fell to disputing the Pope's Authority ; which they so curtail'd and circumscrib'd, that the *Ultra Montanes* look'd upon their decision to be the foundation of a Heresie. Nevertheless the Parliament, (which for a long time hath done nothing but what *your Majesty* commands them) Register'd it as a fundamental piece, among the Archives of the Crown : it was also Inroll'd in the Records of the *Sorbonne*, and the University, whereof some members of a contrary opinion, desiring the matter might be again debated, were expell'd by Letters under the Privy Signet.

This new way of proceeding, hath yet done *your Majesty* little good or harm, your Authority being now so great, that the Pope dares not contend with you ; but the more powerful a Kingdom is, the more subject it is to Revolutions ; so that 'tis to be fear'd one may soon happen. The Pope who hath hitherto defended himself only with the Pen, when he sees an opportunity may hereafter make use of the Sword. Indeed gentler courses might have been taken, to maintain *your Majesty's* Rights ; and if the Archbishop of *Paris*, to shew his Authority to all *France*, had resolv'd to persecute those Bishops whose Pious and Exemplary Lives were a secret reproach to his own, (in no wise conformable to his Character) he should at least have forborn to persecute

persecute his *Head* ; whom he ought to obey. But he thought to repair all, by advising *your Majesty* to extirpate Heresie ; as if *Calvin's* were more dangerous than that he endeavour'd to introduce : Certainly if his designs had succeeded, he would have open'd a door to far greater mischiefs than can be fear'd from a Sect which may be easily suppress'd ; because the Principles are known upon which it is founded. But the Case is far different, when the Head of the Church is renounc'd ; as it happen'd in *England*, where there are many Religions instead of one, an example against which nothing can be alledg'd.

However the Clergy obtain'd a Signal Victory over the *Hugenots* ; considering the great number of Conversions that were made. But I know not what Posterity will say

of the * *Intendants* employing your Dragoons, which I presume was a Maxim not approv'd by *your Majesty*, but broach'd by violent and cruel Men ; for till then, you made

* Judges or Officers of Justice sent by the King into the Provinces.

use of no other but fair and gentle means to convert your People ; wherein you shew'd more than ordinary Prudence. For example, you would not suffer a *Hugenot* to enjoy any Place or Office, either in your Court, or in the Civil Government, and you at last so reduc'd them by several Edicts that they were either forc'd to live idly, or obliged to follow some Trade or turn Soldiers. This converted some, who rather than quit their Places would go to Mass : Yet these were but few in respect of the vast numbers that

* A gentle word for *Persecuted*, but 'tis the Author's, and must be faithfully render'd. He makes some amends for it at the end of the Paragraph.

were * persuaded by the Dragoons. 'Tis said, that in the single Province of *Poitou*, they converted above 35,000, to which the promised Pensions contributed very much, and were only given to those who were most likely to draw others to follow their Example: But yet some stood it out, and would not submit to the Mission. The Intendants perceiving it was *your Majesty's* Design, totally to extirpate the Religion, made use of Fire and Sword; and if we may believe the Complaints of very many, there was a great Number that suffer'd such cruel Torments, and yet continued obstinate, that if they had been in the right way, they might have very well deserv'd the Name of Martyrs.

While this pass'd, *Louvo*y made another sort of War, in the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, which suffer'd a thousand times more than when *your Majesty* was in actual Hostility against him. The itch which *your Minister* had to be alway necessary to *your Majesty*, made him follow the same course he took to be Master of *Strasbourg* and *Casal*. He chose a fit time, for the Emperor being engaged in a War with the *Turk*, Monsieur *Louvo*y observ'd no rules of Justice, no not of Civility or good Manners: He set a-foot several specious Pretences to enter into *Flanders*, and because People would not submit to what he requir'd, he first demanded Contributions, as if they had been in actual War:

After

After this Hostility, his next way was, to require the like Summs from those that were his Friends, which if they did not pay, he threatened to burn their Houses.

The poor *Flemings*, to prevent this ill treatment, pay'd the Summ your Minister demanded; but when this was done, he began to undermine their Houses, on purpose to draw from them the last Penny they had, being made to believe, that otherwise their Houses should be pulled down. When he saw they had nothing left, their Houses were demolish'd, and the combustible Materials burnt, that they might be of no farther use to the poor miserable People. I am perswaded *your Majesty* never knew this, and all that have the Honour to be near you, believe you so far from approving such cruelties, that you would rather have had them exemplarily punish'd.

I will not say the same was done beyond the *Meuse*, where your Army, commanded by *Mareschal Crequi*, seiz'd upon many Posts dependences on the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and block'd up that strong place. I do not think it was done without *your Majesty's* Order, because *Monsieur Louvoy* made you believe, the *Spaniards* still did you great Wrong. Your Minister, some Years since, imploy'd one of *Metz* to spoyle a great deal of Paper, and tho' at first he dislik'd him, yet this Man at last became his great Favourite, by telling him he knew a way how to put *your Majesty* in Possession of all on this side the *Rhine*, without striking a Stroke.

His means were altogether imaginary ; for he maintain'd, that whatever heretofore held of the Lands *your Majesty* now possess'd, must still hold of the same : So that Monsieur *Louvoy* approving his Reasons, made use of them, and sent one of the Serjeants of your Parliament of *Metz*, to summon the King of *Spain* to come at a Day prefix'd to do Homage and Fealty to *your Majesty*, for many things he held of you : But his Catholick Majesty, thought this new way of proceeding very unreasonable, and indeed it was more against *Your Majesty's* Interest than for it ; because the Emperour might as well pretend, that you ow'd him Homage and Fealty for your own Kingdom, which was heretofore a Dependent on the *Roman Empire* : The King of *Spain* laugh'd at this ridiculous Summons, and protested against whatever should be done to his Prejudice. Monsieur *Louvoy*, who expected as much, procur'd a Sentence to pass, by which, for not appearing and answering according to the Summons, *your Majesty* was to take possession of what you demanded ; which was very easy, *your Majesty* having the Power in your own Hands. Monsieur *Louvoy* by eating got an Appetite ; and by this Sentence, procur'd you more than you could have expected from a Ten Years War.

The Complaints the King of *Spain* made hereupon, begot several Conferences at *Courtray*, between *your Majesty's* and the King of *Spain's* Deputies : but seeing *your Majesty* would abate nothing of your Pretensions, they separated without doing any thing : And the King of *Spain* resolving

resolving, that what you took should be by force, rather than by Treaty ; you became Master of all the Country from *Sedan*, home to the Gates of *Luxembourg*, which you block'd up so close, that the *Spaniards* could put nothing into it.

Some time after, *your Majesty* rais'd the Blockade, as you sayd, because the *Turks* were ready to enter into *Austria*, and you would not favour their designs by giving the Emperour any diversion. For my own part, I believe what you said to be true, and I know *your Majesty* hath too much Sincerity to say one thing, and mean another. The *Spanish* Embassador hath published to the contrary ; but what I have to say is, that if you will preserve the Glory you have acquir'd by your Moderation ; you must do nothing to contradict what you have said : Your Reputation is in your own Hands ; for as it will be your Glory to keep your Word, so it will be your shame to give your self the Lye. You ought therefore, to reject the evil Counsels that may be given you, which are the bane of Princes ; tho' the Poyson that is in 'em, be hid under fair and specious Pretences.

I fear all those Camps, which Monsieur *Louvois* hath marked out on the Frontiers of *Germany*, tend to some new Design : But *your Majesty*, who is so great a Lover of Justice, must consider, that you can never gain Glory by Conquests that are unjust ; yet if you could, be your Power never so great in this World ; there is another, where Kings as well as private Men, must give an Account of their Actions.

The *Algerins*, whom you had chastiz'd the last Year, were become never the wiser for it: So that you were forc'd to send *du Quêne* a Second time, who made them sensible, that it was better to implore *your Majesty's* Pardon, than to expose themselves to a new Punishment. He threw in a great Number of Bombs, which totally ruin'd the Town they had endeavour'd to repair. But the Contests and Divisions which were among 'em; some being for *Mazzomorto*, and others for *Baluchachi*, the one for Peace, the other for War, kept them from following the best Advice; which was, to give *your Majesty* Satisfaction. I doubt their Constancy will not be Proof against your Thunder; for I know *your Majesty* is not us'd to be baffled in what you undertake, and I presume you will send your Fleet thither ten times, rather than not bring those Pirates to reason.

I shall here conclude what I have seen done by *your Majesty*, which would have been to your immortal Glory, if the confidence you have repos'd in Monsieur *Louvoy*, had not led you to undertake some things, more out of Ambition than Justice; *your Majesty* knows best, whether I speak Truth or no, and can't be deceiv'd after my relating so many Circumstances. To make your Reign perfectly Glorious, you have nothing more to do, than to regulate your Future Actions by your own understanding; which is so free from Falshood and Injustice; and which will demonstrate to the World, you have had no part in any of those things, I have now told *your Majesty*. I hope you will take in good part,
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the Liberty wherewith I have address'd, my self to you, for the good of your Kingdom, at least I think so : But if I am mistaken, I willingly submit my self to *your Majesty's* Judgement, and to that of all Honest Men.

C H A P. VII.

Which shews, that those particular Favours which your Majesty hath receiv'd from God, oblige you to render to him that which is his due; and that no Kingdom can prosper, without the fear of God.

IF I have been so unhappy to have displeas'd *your Majesty*, by relating many things with more Freedom than I should have taken; yet I cannot be guilty of the same Fault in what I am now about to say, since I am certain, that in matters of Piety, and wherein the Service of God is concern'd, *your Majesty* thinks no Man can speak too boldly, nor can any thing be said, that can better please you. Many Churches rebuilt at your Charge, others to which you have added more Maintenance to supply their wants, Blasphemers severely punish'd, the Poor relieved, and many things of the like kind, which for brevity's sake, and not to be thought a Flatterer, I do not mention; are all convincing Testimonies, that the Glory of God is *your Majesty's* chief care: Though in this you have done

no more than what all the World is bound to do ; yet I say, 'tis *your Majesty's* Duty more than another Man's ; not only because as you are a Sovereign you are oblig'd to give good Example to your Subjects ; but because you cannot omit the doing of it, without being very ingrateful to God.

If *your Majesty* will but cast your Eyes, on the Favours you have receiv'd from him, you will see many things which require an Eternal Acknowledgement. I do not speak of such things as are common to you with all men ; but reflect if you please on those Blessings, which God's Providence hath in so particular a manner pour'd out upon *your Majesty*.

How are you bound to thank him for your Miraculous Birth ? his giving you Being to fill the noblest Throne upon Earth, is one of the least of his Favours ; and to draw you doubly, I may say, out of nothing as he did, after the Queen your Mother had been Barren three and twenty Years, is a Blessing that cannot be forgot without double Ingratitude.

If you follow step by step what God hath done for you, you will find his Protection over your Person hath been very singular : Remember that almost universal Rebellion of your Kingdom, that Confederation of the Parliaments against your Authority, the insolence of your People, and how easily you quell'd these Monsters. You will then confess, this was not the Work of Man, but the Hand of God. If after this, you call to mind the Fidelity of your Commanders and Souldiers, even to the prejudice of
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their Ancient Rights; and that Victory still wedded to your side, forc'd the *Spaniards* to yield to the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, notwithstanding their great aversion to it: You will see that this likewise, was a Favour of Divine Providence, which never forsook you. How can you chuse but be thankful, for the Miracle it wrought in recovering you from that terrible Sickness, which I have already mention'd? I know God made use of Natural Causes, to which impious Men attribute all that is extraordinary; but, by their leave, there was something more in that recovery; for you were not only given over by your Physicians, who I confess are many times mistaken; but you were more than half dead, as those that were present did verily think, and can testify I spoke Truth, when I said your Curtains were drawn.

If *your Majesty* please, let us follow the course of your Life, and see whether that which happen'd after this, be Natural. Do you in good earnest believe, that so regular and mature a Judgment, as appear'd in you presently after the Cardinal's Death, notwithstanding the ill Education he gave you, was only the Gift of Nature? 'Tis to God alone you are indebted for it, and to whom you are to return thanks. 'Twas not in your Power to make your self wise, especially in a Court where you were suffer'd to do what you would, and where none but Women, had the care of your Education.

What shall I now say of the Wars wherein you have been engag'd by evil Counsel, and if I may dare say so, by your own Ambition? And yet,
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how happily are you come off ! All these Miracles are from Heaven, God having sent you into the World, that you might Glorifie him by your Actions, and hath more particularly engaged you to praise him, by many Obligations heap'd upon one another : If you do not do that which God expects from you, what will all the World say, that know the Character of a good Man is to be Grateful ?

As it is *your Majesty's* Obligation, so 'tis your Interest to be thankful : For if a Prince take no care to give to God that which is his due ; how can he expect his People should do their Duty to him, whose greatest Glory is to be the living Image of God upon Earth. If he thinks to be obey'd, because as a Master he commands others, and believes his Subjects must Love or fear him, because Reward and Punishment are in his Hands, he is much mistaken : For the Power of a Prince be it never so great ; would quickly be brought to nothing ; if those that obey him, did not do it for God's sake, who is greater than he ? 'Tis Religion that first made Subjects fear their King, and still continues that Fear : As a Tree which doth not continually receive Nourishment from the Earth, grows dry and withers by degrees ; so take away Religion in a Kingdom, the Respect and Fear of a Sovereign, which Subjects suck in with their Milk, insensibly decays, till it be quite Dead ; whence follow a thousand Mischiefs, greater than can be Imagin'd or express'd ; and then, neither Hope of Reward, or Fear of Punishment, can prevail with Subjects to do their Duty. A Wretch, that doth not believe

lieve in God, thinks there is much more to be got by Disobedience and Rebellion, than ever he could expect from his Prince; and what Effect can the fear of Punishment have upon him, who believes there is no other World beside this, and that one quarter of an Hour will put an End to all his Pain.

Not to give God his due, is to open a Door to all manner of Wickedness; and a Prince thereby exposes himself to the Hazard of being driven out of his Kingdom. Look but upon the *Ottoman* Empire, which is much more subject to revolutions than any other Kingdoms, because the greatest part of its Subjects think the Religion they profess to be meer humane Invention; and when a Man once comes to that Belief, 'tis a very hard matter to conquer his Prejudice, and raise him up to the Knowledge of the true God. Besides, such an Opinion blinds and makes Men so brutish, as to attribute all things to Nature, and 'tis extremely difficult for 'em to find the way out of their error.

Let us come a little nearer, and see what hath been done in *England*, the want of Religion in that Kingdom, was the cause of all that happen'd there, since the time of *Henry* the 8th. the introducing of so many Sects, brought the People at last to dip their hands in their King's blood.

Come we now to your own Kingdom, where we may observe the same disorders in the reign of three or four Kings one after another. If you would know the reason, read but their History. One was a Blasphemer, instead of punishing that
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sin in his Subjects. Another was an Atheist, and so of the rest. So that their Subjects who had very little more Religion than they, attempted to dethrone 'em.

These Confusions lasted till the Reign of the Deceased King your Father. The Vicious Lives of the Clergy cannot be remember'd without horror. A Bishop never visited his Diocess, but to receive the Rents due from his Tenants ; if he stay'd there, 'twas to enjoy a Mistress, whose company pleas'd him ; and when he was weary of her, he return'd to *Paris* to find another, upon whom he spent that which he should have given to the Poor ; with the rest he kept Horses and Hounds, an abuse so general amongst 'em, that he was accounted covetous who did not live at this rate.

I have also heard my Deceased Father say that when he was young, Bishopricks were bestow'd usually to gratifie Favourites (who had procur'd 'em) with part of their Revenues ; they knew how much they were to give, and the rest was for themselves. The same thing was practic'd with relation to Abbies, and I may say all the Benefices in *France*. The Monks who liv'd at their ease, spent their overplus very scandalously, but lik'd the Trade so well, that in spite of all reproof, they would not leave it.

Cardinal *Richelieu*, who knew that the first and most important care of a Minister of State, is to establish Religious Worship, especially among those whose good or evil example is of great consequence in a Kingdom, apply'd himself entirely to it. God blest his Endeavours, and 'tis

to him we are indebted for our present better change. *Your Majesty* hath likewise done your part, in not bestowing favours but upon those who for their good behaviour and learning are worthy of 'em; for *your Majesty* well knows that they who are to be set over others, should be able to teach and instruct them; seeing want of good Precepts may be the cause of as much mischief, as ill example.

By the particular knowledge I have, I am a daily witness, that in the distribution of Benefices and other favours, *your Majesty* will be inform'd, not only of the good lives and conversation of those persons that are propos'd to you; but also of their other requisite qualifications. Now after this knowledge I have nothing more to say, than to exhort *your Majesty* to continue the Conduct you have shewn, since your coming to the Crown; for nothing so much prevails with Subjects, as the good example of their Sovereign. *Your Majesty's* present Exemplary life will be a Spur to those who are so lazy, as not to keep pace with *your Majesty*, in the good way you are going.

Endeavour above all things to keep from your heart, Slanderers and Hypocrites; whereof the number is much greater than you imagine. The first like love, insinuate themselves by degrees into Mens minds, but kill as soon as they take possession, a Detractor gets into the heart of a Prince, by pretending his interests are dearer to him than his own; and when he hath infus'd his poyson, he will never let him rest till he hath made him suspect the fidelity of his best servants.

servants! Hypocrites are yet more dangerous, because under colour of Devotion they infect you with mischievous Maxims, whose venom 'tis impossible for you to discover.

There are other Vices which tho *your Majesty* ought not to suffer; yet they are not so prejudicial to your Government. A Man that minds nothing but pleasing his senses, hurts no body but himself; a Drunkard is in the same case, and so are others of the like nature; so that the service of God a part, the Commonwealth is not concern'd. If it suffer any thing, 'tis because God who is just, doth not usually bless those places where such disorders are permitted; and I attribute all the Misery of *Flanders* to their Idolatry; I cannot without indignation see them pay so much veneration and respect to an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, or of some other Saint, and yet have no regard at all, to the Holy Sacrament that is upon their Altars.

'Tis the Monks that are the cause of this abuse, which they had heretofore establish'd in *France*; but that it doth not reign there, so much as in former times, we are to thank the Heretics. It was one of their complaints against the *Roman* Church, and the people who in those days liv'd in very great ignorance; now they are illuminated, know they were in the right; the Monks themselves never doubted it, and the thing is too clear of it self, to be any longer a block of offence. Nothing but interest hath prompted 'em to make such a change in Religion; and to load us with Indulgences and Fraternities. They at first wrought upon the minds of
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weak Women, to establish their Maxims, and then infus'd them into their Men ; who as I have said were so ignorant, as not to perceive the snares that were laid for them.

If these Monks had kept close to the first rules of their institution, this abuse could never have crept in ; it came in first by Confessions, which by degrees they have now apply'd to themselves, through the secular Priests neglecting their duty, the care also they take, to get Customers to their Churches, by things which attract the eyes more than the heart ; hath drawn people from their Parish-Churches, to which by the Canons they are oblig'd to go under pain of mortal sin : So that we see 'em deserted and empty, while the Churches of Covents, have not room enough to contain those whom curiosity or dangerous zeal hath allured thither ; but God be thanked, we begin to know better, what is our duty ; 'tis *your Majesty's* part to remedy other abuses, God having put power into your hands, to root out the Tares which grow amongst the good Corn.

The means are easie, and the putting it in practice absolutely necessary, both for the good of your Subjects, and the security of your State ; for the good of your Subjects you should not suffer Monks to meddle with what they have nothing to do ; entring into the Secrets of Families, where they often make strange work : And for the security of your State, how can you expect it ? where they that are bound by an Oath of Fidelity to the Pope ; must prefer his Interests before yours ; which will occasion greater incon-

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veniencies,

veniencies than you can imagin; this will appear to be a manifest truth, if you call to mind what past in the Reigns of *Hen.3.* and *Hen.4.* of which I need say so no more; since *Your Majesty* knows what then happen'd, better than I do. The surest way to prevent these two inconveniences; is first to destroy these Monasteries, or at least not to suffer such a multitude of 'em: but since this will be a difficult thing for *Your Majesty* to do, though your power be so great, yet I think it may be compass'd, if *Your Majesty* please, first to establish again among 'em the ancient Discipline of their Founders, wherein they are very remiss. *2dly*, If you forbid them taking Confession; whereby they insinuate themselves into Women, out of whom they wire-draw the Secrets of all Families. *3ly*. If you suffer none to take upon 'em the habit, till they shall be of such an age as you shall prescribe; that they may know what it is to enter into Religion. If this were done, their number would quickly be known, and there would not be so many among 'em, who bite their Nails for having done that which they did not well consider before hand. *4ly*, If you reform the Ornaments of their Churches, and reduce 'em to the Usage of Cathedrals, and of *St. Peter's* at *Rome* it self, which should serve for a Pattern to others; where there stands upon the High Altar, nothing but a Cross, and a few Candlesticks, instead of all the Trinkets we see in the Covents. *5ly*, If *Your Majesty* forbid the shameful Traffick of Fraternities, driven in Service-time, which distracts

tracts Peoples Devotion ; also that the Blind of * *Quinze Vingt*, may be kept out of the Church, that those who are at their Prayers, may not be interrupted. These two last abuses reign as much in Parishes, as in Covents, which *Your*

* A kind of Hospital in *Paris*, where the Blind are allow'd to beg at their Church-doors, and at the corners of Streets.

Majesty should reform. 6thly, If you forbid Monks and Friars talking with Women at Church-doors, or in any other place within the limits of their Monasteries : For what can they have to say to 'em ? doth any body think they entertain 'em with Devotion ? whether 'tis that I am more corrupt, or that I take more notice of things than others do ; but it hath been always my observation, that Old Women are still excluded from their conversation ; they are never to be spoken with, when young and pretty Women are by ; do they think to perswade us, they have charms to keep themselves from burning, when they approach so near to the fire ? *Your Majesty* ought to remove this scandal, but if you cannot by the means I have propos'd, there are others which you may have recourse to in case of necessity.

Care must be taken, that Parish-Churches, in which there are many things that want Reformation, should give so good example, that people might of their own accord return again to 'em without any compulsion. I have observ'd that Parish-Priests are very negligent in their duty ; 'tis a shame to see how at Funerals they look to the right and the left, and behave themselves so, that no body can think 'twas zeal

for God's service, engag'd them in their profession, but that they enter'd into Orders only to get a livelihood, they make Devotion a meer Trade. A Shoemaker when he is making Shoos, minds more what he is about, than they do.

'Tis *Your Majesty's* concern to remedy so great an abuse ; but 'tis not to be done, unless you resolve to augment the number of Parishes in your City of *Paris*. A Priest who hath no mind to give good example, is hid in the multitude of his Parishioners, of whom the hundredth part do not know him ; which would not happen in Parishes of moderate extent. What necessity is there for their being so large ? Or that Priests should have five and twenty thousand *Livres* yearly Rent ? Divide one Parish into six, that will not only make the Priests but the People more vertuous ; they may then have their eyes upon every particular person, and hinder the scandal they now encourage for want of due care and reproof. Beside, this is the only way to abate the Pride of the Monks, who think we cannot be without 'em, for the administration of the Sacraments, and really the extent of some Parishes is so great, that the Church cannot contain the thirtieth part of the Inhabitants, so that they, who cannot get places, go some where else, or stay at home. In the mean time the Covents are throng'd with Customers, which is contrary to their first Institution.

When there are more Parishes in *Paris*, and in other places where 'tis necessary : and when Archbishops and Bishops suffer none but Secular Priests to come into their Pulpits, *Your Majesty*

sty will quickly see People leave running after Monks and Friars, and the Worship of God return to its first purity.

I say nothing of the Laws which *Your Majesty* should make against Monasteries growing so excessively rich ; you have done it already, especially in relation to Nunneries, which you have order'd for the future, to take no Money of those who desire the Habit. 'Tis much more necessary for the Support of *Your Majesty's* Government, that Lay-families should be richer than Religious Houses. This will produce another good effect, that none will be received into them, but good Subjects ; of which they take little care, provided People bring Money with 'em. But this Law is so ill executed, that it signifies no more, than if *Your Majesty* had never made it, the only effect we see of it is, that whereas there were Contracts for the receiving of a Nun, there are none made now ; yet People pay never the less Money for it, which is contrary to *Your Majesty's* intention, and for which you ought to provide a remedy. God requires it of you, the Religious of both Sexes being become so covetous, that they receive all who have Money to give 'em, preferably to those who have none, tho never so unfit ; the way to rectifie this abuse, is to bring an Information against those who have transgress'd your Law, and punish them so severely, that they may serve as an example to others.

For to what purpose are Laws if they be not executed ? It were better as I have already said, they had never been made. 'Tis exposing *Your*

'Majesty's Authority to an affront, which could never happen if things had remain'd as they were before the Law was made. I do not mean that *Your Majesty* should punish this fault as if it were a crime of State ; 'tis enough to make 'em restore the Money they have receiv'd with Interest, it will not be difficult to prove the taking of Money, tho' it were done in private, 'twill be divulg'd as soon as *Your Majesty's* intention is known ; Fathers and Mothers who have Daughters to provide for, will be the first who will reveal the Secret ; seeing 'tis *Your Majesty's* Pleasure they shall be reliev'd, whether they will or no ; but they should have no part of what is restor'd, the Givers being as faulty as the Receivers, and equally transgressing the Law. So that *Your Majesty* will grow rich at their cost, and no body blame you, since the World will see that *Your Majesty* designs nothing but the Service of God and the good of your Subjects.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Obedience to the Pope.

THIS Chapter cannot be better plac'd than here, it having such a relation to that which precedes it. That it may be truly said, when People refuse Obedience to the Pope, they are not far from forgetting that which they owe to God ; and when we are not sensible of that submission and respect, we ought to have for those whom he hath as his Ministers set over us, the fear which we have of God himself will quickly

quickly vanish. The reason is plain, because we forget that command he hath given us, to honour those who are the living Images of his Divinity. There is no Prince be he never so little, that will suffer those to whom he commits his Authority, to be despis'd, and there is nothing more common, than to pay them the respect they require from us. This is not only observ'd to the Governour of a Province, but even to the meanest Judge; and proceeds from the Character, wherewith the Prince hath honour'd them, in which 'tis his Interest to support them? how can it then be believ'd that God is less jealous of that Authority which he hath intrusted in the hands of his Ministers, and upon which depends the safety of Religion.

I know very well that the Kings of the Earth are the Lord's Anointed, and for that reason are exalted above all other Men; but yet they must know their Rights are distinct and different from those of the Church; and as the Church never allows Subjects, upon any account, to be disobedient to their Prince; so a Prince ought not to permit his People to refuse paying Obedience and respect to the Church.

If the Church had continued in the state it was in, in the time of the Apostles, and had not joyn'd the Sword to the Mitre; things would have been in another condition than now they are; but since what hath been done, hath been by God's permission, we ought to submit to what he hath ordain'd, and not give a new occasion of scandal. I know that Churchmen have gone beyond the bounds of their Duty, and that Bishops and Popes have

had their faults; yet by whatever they have done, they cannot lose their Character, and since it is to this Character our respect is due, they cannot by any of their actions lose, or be depriv'd of it. The case is the same with Crown'd Heads, who tho' they do not their Duty, yet Subjects cannot dispence with the obedience they owe them.

Would to God, Sir, your Ministers had well consider'd this Truth, they would not then have exalted the Authority of your Crown, so far above that of the Mitre. I very much doubt, whether Equity hath been the rule of their Actions. Had I been Learned and able enough to have decided this great Controversie which you have had with *Rome* concerning the *Regale*, and some others that have follow'd it, I would have determin'd the question positively without a perhaps, and speaking doubtfully; but I confess my self too ignorant, to give a definitive Judgment, in things above my reach. Now if any ask, since I confess my incapacity, why then do I condemn rather than approve what hath been done: I pray *Your Majesty* to consider, that you have had not only *Rome* against you in this business, but many Bishops and Doctors of your own Kingdom; who have been always thought examples of Piety and Vertue, and have liv'd very exemplarily. We see also they have chosen to suffer Exile and Imprisonment, rather than submit to that which they believe is unjust, to say that what they have done, is because they are opinionative and obstinate, is to impose only upon the simple;
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for wise men are of another mind. Is it likely they could premeditately design to displease their Master, especially you that are the greatest King upon Earth, and so much respected and esteem'd by all your Subjects? It is much more reasonable to think, that *Your Majesty* seeing these things, with those persons eyes, on whom you relye; the desire they have to make themselves necessary, hath put 'em upon doing what they cannot justifie before an Impartial Tribunal: They do not consider that they expose *Your Majesty* to new Enemies, whose number they need not increase, since you have already made your self too many by your Conquests, would they but reflect upon what some persons at least as wise as themselves, who have grown old in Embassies, have represented to the Kings your Predecessors; they would proceed a little more warily; he deceives himself, who weighs what he undertakes, only by the power of him for whom he acts; if Justice do not hold the Ballance, it were a thousand times better, nothing had ever been attempted. I would fain have these Great Politicians tell me, with what Lawrels they have Crown'd *Your Majesty*, by the Banishment and Imprisonment of so many Pious and Learned Persons; whom the Pope in his Bulls hath not only declared to be such, but hath likewise exhorted them to suffer for the love of Truth. I wish they would also tell me, what Victory they expect by those Orders of Council, which might I dare say so, do without any regard had to the Bulls of his Holiness, so insolently command
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the Literal execution of all that, which they in the fits of their Frenzy have decreed.

There are milder ways, and more befitting a Most Christian King, to determine those Differences which may happen between *Your Majesty* and *Rome*. It doth not become a Son to rebell against his Father, who is to be disarmed by Kindness and Submission, rather than by holding a Cudgel over him. Tho it be glorious for a Man to have the better of his Enemies, yet it is shameful, to desire like a Master to command those to whom he owes obedience and respect. So that should *Your Majesty* take *Rome*, and conquer all the Ecclesiastical State ; yet you are prudent enough to know, you would get the same reputation by it, that *Charles* the Fifth had in the like occasion, faithful and impartial Historians have represented him to be a Prince that had no Religion, and who never kept his word ; and tho they that flatter him most, have been forc'd to cast a Veil over his taking of *Rome* ; yet the foulness of that action appears plainly through it. I know very well there will be a gloss set upon what *Your Majesty* doth, to secure your Glory ; but you will not find that all Pens are to be bought and kept in your Pay, there will be some left that may go to the bottom of this business, and give the World a true account of it. Slander is generally better receiv'd than Truth, and if it be true, as we must agree it is, that the greatest Kings cannot hinder People from taking the liberty to examine their actions ; how many will say that a Prince had better see with his own eyes , than trust to other Mens. Besides, when a Man is about to do a thing, he ought

ought to consider what may be the end and the consequences of it. I would ask the Archbishop of *Paris*, and all others, on whose advice *Your Majesty* relies in Ecclesiastical Matters; what is to be got by Quarreling with the Pope? certainly nothing; for if Religion be not totally destroy'd by it, all your Attempts against his Holyness, will recoil back upon you: The Reason is, because *Europe* cannot continue in the same State it is now, and the Pope's Authority being so great as it is, as well in Temporal as in Spiritual Cases, he becomes an Enemy to you, not only in his own Person, but in that of his Successors; and a dangerous Enemy who hath Thunder in his Hands; which will do more Mischief than *your Majesty's* great Guns, tho' perhaps it may not make so great a Noise. The People are generally very credulous on such Occasions, and *your Majesty* is too clear sighted, not to foresee the ill consequences of it. *Rome's* Fulminations have caus'd the overthrow of very great Kingdoms; and your own have felt such furious Shocks, as hath requir'd more than a Day to recover it. History is full of such Events, and tho' *your Majesty's* Glory and Power, secure you at present from fearing the like; yet you ought to look on your Heirs, who tho' they inherit the one, may not have the good Fortune to acquire the other.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Love which a Prince ought to have for his Subjects, and of Taxes.

Nothing doth better prove a Prince's Love to his People, than his reflecting, why they have made themselves his Subjects, and given him power over them. Every thing hath a Beginning, and seeing we own *Pharamond* to be our first King, it is evident we had none before him, or at least have no Knowledge left of any; when the *Gauls* were under the Dominion of the *Romans*, much is said of some famous Captains among the *Gauls*; but that was all the Title they had, that of King being never given to them. We do not read they commanded any where but in the Army, and when their Enemies retir'd, they return'd to a private Life. If they were esteem'd and respected above others, it was for their Valour, and not for any Authority that still remain'd in their hands; since they had none but when they were in Arms.

The great struggles the *Gauls* had to preserve their Liberty, which they had taken so much pains to obtain; made them think of chusing a Master; but such a Master who had only the Name, and was so far from making himself a Tyrant, that he concurr'd with them, to keep 'em again from falling into Slavery. Without doubt, had they thought that he on whom their Choice was fall'n, would treat them as their Old Masters
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the *Romans* had done, they would certainly have soon set Bounds to his Authority. The Establishment of Royalty was at first properly no more, than the election of a Sovereign, who was to be universally obey'd, for the Publick Good; and who was to have the same Affection for his Subjects, that a Father of a Family hath for his Children and Servants. And tho' in later times, there have been great changes in Monarchies, we ought to return to their true original Constitution. No body can be in Love with arbitrary Power, and had it not been introduc'd among the *Turks*, their Emperours might have sat more securely on their Thrones. A Prince should endeavour to reign in the Hearts of his People by Love, rather than subject them to his Will by Power. Many Kings have pretended to a despotick Power, of doing what they pleas'd; but that gave occasion of calling together the States, or such Assemblies as in some places are term'd a Parliament or Diet. But call 'em by what Names you please, they are still but the same thing, seeing they represent the whole Body of the Kingdom, composed of the Clergy, of the Nobility, and of that which is called here in *France* the Third State. Such, for Example, are the Parliaments in *England*; but our Parliaments in *France*, are Courts only establish'd to administer justice to *your Majesty's* People. In your Minority the Parliament of *Paris*, pretended to meddle with Affairs of State, which was an Usurpation upon *your Majesty's* Authority, for which you had just Reason to punish them. Good Princes have always been the Protectors of these Assemblies

Assemblies of the States in this Kingdom, and of Parliaments and Diets; not being concern'd whether they were assembl'd or no, because they never intended to do any thing, but what was for the Good of their People. And to speak properly, these States and Parliaments, are the People's Guardians; but those Princes that have a Design to take away their Subjects Liberties, and to introduce Arbitrary Government, are always afraid of Parliaments, because they are a Rock, on which usually their Desires and Hopes split.

I will not say 'tis fit these Assemblies should meet as often as they do in *England*; because by the length of their Debates, Opportunities are many times lost, that can never be recover'd. Nor doth it become Subjects to have the Wardship of their King: If it were to be permitted, it ought to be at most but in very important occasions, and where it seems necessary that all the Orders of the Kingdom give their Consent; in all other things, the Prince with his Council may be a sufficient Judge, it being to be presum'd he will do nothing but for the good of his People.

If it were proper in this place to ask, whether a Prince's Council ought to be agreeable to his Subjects; and consequently, whether *your Majesty's* Subjects had reason to press you to banish Cardinal *Mazarin*, it would be a very ticklish nice Question: For as it is the Peoples Interest and Concern, that no body should give Evil Counsel to *your Majesty*; so on the other hand, many Inconveniencies might happen, if a Prince should have no Council, but such a one

as his People like; for that were to reduce Monarchs to the Condition of being Sovereigns only in shew. But since what we treat of here is quite another thing, I will only say, that the Consequence which results from the Establishment of the States, cannot possibly be deny'd; which is, that a King ought to have a very tender Affection for his People, which he is oblig'd never to depart from. The Reason is, because there had been no need of such an Establishment, if they should have had Power to do what they thought good. But seeing such Assemblies were created, to be as I may say, Guardians and Protectors of the People, and have right to interpose their Mediation with the Prince, that nothing may pass to their Prejudice: It is an infallible Proof, that Princes ought to be Fathers to, and not Tirants over their Subjects. Otherwise the Convocation of the States, and Meeting of Parliaments, must have been created to favour the one, and to take away the Rights of the other. Now whoever saw an Assembly of the States accus'd for assuming to themselves an Authority that was not due to them? But that Suspicion falls often upon the Princes, and many of 'em are not able to defend themselves from it.

If it plainly appear by what hath been said, that Kings have an Obligation to their People; that which remains to be said, will no less clearly prove it, if we examine what are the Obligations of the one, and of the other. We shall see, that if Subjects be bound to obey their Prince, the Prince is oblig'd to love and protect his Subjects.

A Prince, to speak properly, is in his Domi-
nions, that which the Heart is to all the Parts
and Members of the Body. If the Heart be sick,
the whole Body presentlyresents it; if any part
of the Body be ill, the Heart at the same time
suffers. Therefore to be in perfect Health, there
must be between the Heart and all parts of the
Body a constant Union and Agreement; and
they must in their several Functions mutually help
each other. Between a King and his Kingdom
the Case is the same: There must be a perfect
Harmony and Agreement between him and his
People. As the Heart gives Motion to all parts
of the Body, so doth the Prince to all the Acti-
ons of his People: And as the Heart receives
Succour from all the parts of the Body, to keep
it in a vigorous and healthful state, that the
whole Body may enjoy the same; so ought a
King to receive Aid from his People, to support
his Power and Authority, that he may preserve
their Peace and Welfare.

If this be an indisputable Truth, which no
Man can doubt, then this Agreement between a
King and his Subjects depends solely upon him-
self; for if he be just, his People will certainly
be obedient. Now to be just, is to do every
individual Subject right, and not to suffer the
Strong to oppress the Weak.

Your Majesty seems to have sufficiently provi-
ded against it by the good Laws you have made,
and by sending Magistrates into the Provinces,
to see them put in Execution. But the Question
is, whether this is sufficient, and whether there
be not greater Outrages committed in *your Ma-
jesty's*

jeſty's Name, and under your Authority, than were to be feared from the Great Men of your Kingdom : For 'tis you, Sir, that are ſtronger than the ſtrongest ; and if the Power of others be ſuppreſs'd to make *your Maſteſty's* the greater, yet you ought not to do any thing that is unjuſt. The Covetouſneſs of the Partifans is ſo intolerable, that provided they can fill their own Coſſers, they care not what Reproach they bring upon *your Maſteſty*. Your Council ſometimes goes too faſt, in making Orders to authorize their Ex-tortions. Your Council's chief Care is to pleaſe you in all things they think are for your Advantage, without ever examining what are the Rights of your People. I have obſerv'd in ſome Caſes their blind-fold Compliances, which I may boldly call criminal ; ſince they violate Juſtice, which your Council ought to defend. *Your Maſteſty* knows I have often oppos'd ſuch Orders ; for as I will always be for that which I believe is Juſt ; ſo I will never conſent to that which I think is not ſo.

Your Maſteſty may remember when the Duty of * *Trop bu* came to be debated, I did as much oppoſe it as poſſibly I could, and could I have prevail'd it had never been ordain'd ; I knew the juſtice of it, notwithſtanding all the fine Colours ſome endeavour'd to put upon it ; but at laſt it made ſuch a Noiſe, that *your Maſteſty* thought fit to revoke this new Tax.

* There being a Duty laid on Wine reſembling our Exciſe, what is made and conſum'd (like Beer and Ale brew'd) in Private Families is exempt from all Duty. But by this Tax there is only an allowance of ſo much Wine to every Family proportionable to their Number ; and if they exceed that Allowance the Officer returns *Trop bu*, and they pay Exciſe for the Overplus.

There are some of this nature which still remain; but here are such Complaints and Outcries again 'em, that they cannot last long. One of this kind, is the making People in some places, pay two several Taxes which are incompatible, as in Cities and Towns whose Payments by Composition, are limited to a certain Summ, to require the

† A Tax much like our Toll, which is taken at the Gates of *Paris*, and of other Cities, for all sorts of Provision and Merchandize that enters therein.

Payment of the † *Droit d'entrée*, and the *Taille* too. Tho' your Majesty doth not enter into a strict examination of this Matter, yet you are made responsible for it, as well as my self. Some think this is done by your Majesty's exprefs Order, and by my Advice: But the Governors of Provinces have more hand in it than any body; the desire they have to make their Court to your Majesty by increasing your Revenue; is the reason of their being Instruments to vex the People.

They become so, because the Council out of which they are taken, and whose Members are design'd to succeed them, think it is to do themselves wrong not to follow their Orders. All Causes which concern your Majesty's Rights, come ordinarily before the

* The King's Officers, who makes the Assessments of all Taxes and Aids within their several Provinces, and judge and regulate all Differences relating thereto.

* *Elus*, and then what Justice can your People expect, when they plead before Judges, who are in Truth Parties? For there is not an *Elu* in *France*, that is not a Pensioner to the Partisans; which is an Abuse your Majesty is bound to reform, and you know I have often spoke to you of

of it. The Case as to the Intendants is somewhat more nice, because it is necessary for the good of your Kingdom, that in those Posts there should be none, but such as are zealous Promoters of *your Majesty's* Interest : For otherwise your Affairs would soon be in an ill Condition. That which ought to be observ'd by them is, that they should not by flattery aggravate things; and 'tis *your Majesty's* and your Council's part, not to countenance their being Favourites. Their so passionately desiring to heap up Riches, is that which begets the good understanding and secret correspondance, which is always between them and the Partisans ; therefore to rectifie this abuse, *your Majesty* ought not only to chuse Persons capable of the Imployment ; but likewise those that are able to maintain themselves in it, without doing any thing that is base or unworthy : For as a King hath the Glory of all the good that is done in his Kingdom ; so he ought to bear the Shame of all that is ill done.

Now seeing all these things contribute either to the Love or Hatred which People have for their Prince ; he ought to be careful, that his Subjects be as little charged as possible, with new Impositions ; and he should also be very circumspect in his Examination and Choice of those Persons, with whom he trusts his Authority.

C H A P. X.

Of all the Kingdom in general.

WHEN I attentively consider the Kingdom, and in what manner it is compos'd and settl'd; I find in it Six different Estates of People; which all, except one, contribute to its Grandeur; but that one is so far from it, that it is rather like to prove its utter ruin. The 1. is the Clergy. The 2. the Nobility, and Gentry. The 3. is that which we call the *Third State*, in which are compris'd all those that are concern'd in the administration of Justice. The 4. the Men of Business. The 5. the Merchants, or Tradesmen. The 6. Husbandmen and Labourers. The Clergy can never be thought an unprofitable Member of the Kingdom, since their business is to maintain Religion, which, if taken away or neglected, I have already shew'd what irremediable Mischief will follow.

The Nobility likewise is a Body, that doth not only give Lustre to the Monarchie, but is the firmest Support of it.

He considers things but superficially, that thinks the * *Gens de justice*, that is, all concern'd in the administration of Justice, to be more useful and necessary than the Clergy and Nobility; whereas, they are so far from being necessary in the State, that they are rather the ruine of it. The multiplicity of Royal and subaltern Courts of Justice, the Bailiwicks

* The Lawyers.

Iywick, Prefidial Courts, and the Parliaments, are so many Blood-suckers. They gnaw and grate your Subjects, and I will maintain, they cost your People every Year, above Two Hundred Millions. I will think what course may be taken to remedy so great a Mischief; but I cannot pass by other Leeches, no less decayed than these I have mention'd, tho' somewhat more serviceable, and useful to the Publick.

I mean the *Gens d'Affaires*, that is, the Bankers, whom the People think to be the Instruments of all their Misery. And indeed, in so thinking, they are not altogether deceiv'd. I confess this Abuse may be more easily reform'd than the other; but cannot be totally suppress'd. I will say more of it, but must first speak of those things which ought to precede it.

The Tradesmen, as well as Husbandmen and Labourers, are included in that which is call'd the Third Estate; but indeed they should be separated, and have a Place by themselves; since 'tis not just, that they, who take so much Pains to preserve the Kingdom, should be mingled with a company of Pettifoggers, whose business it is to destroy it. I know *your Majesty* is too Prudent, not to protect, and in all things concur with them, to make Trade and Tillage flourish. Were I not oblig'd to observe order in my Discourse, I would here more largely shew, what Advantages *your Majesty* may procure them: But seeing I must not go before those, of whom I have first spoken, I return again to the Clergy, who take Place of all the other Orders of the Kingdom.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Clergy.

Plety is so absolutely necessary to an Ecclesiastick, that *your Majesty* hath all the Reason in the World, not to bestow Benefices, but on such as appear to be good and virtuous Men. But seeing People know how to dissemble, when 'tis for their Interest and Advantage; we should not always judge by Appearances, but strictly examin and enquire into their Lives and Conversations. The Universities and Seminaries establish'd for this purpose, are of very great Use and Benefit; for tho' many come to them with dissolute and worldly Minds; yet they are in a fair way to be reform'd by good Example, which they have daily before their Eyes. But I think there should be a certain time limited for Peoples staying in those Seminaries, to which all Persons of Quality, as well as others should be subject, and none by any Priviledge exempted: For 'tis not by long living in Universities, but by coming abroad and conversing in the World, that many things are learn'd, necessary for a Clergy Man to know, and which he can never so well learn any where else.

Pluralities are now grown common; But still condemn'd by tender Consciences. Those that are scrupulous, question whether the going from one Church to another, ought to be suffer'd: Because as a Lay Man is forbidden to change his

his Wife, or to have more than one at a time ; so a Clergy Man ought not to have two Livings, or to commute that which hath been given to him.

The Covetousness of Church-men, and of other Persons of Consideration, join'd with that necessity which hath often oblig'd *your Majesty* and your Predecessors to reward their good Services ; first introduc'd this abuse of Pluralities. But *your Majesty* will do well, to consider what ill Consequences attend it, against which, a timely Remedy must be provided. Ecclesiasticks well born, and bred high, are seldom fit Persons to edifie the People ; for having liv'd in very great abundance, and kept the great Men company, they must needs retain some of their Vices. Their Tables and their Stables, consume the Patrimony of the Poor, and if in the midst of their Plenty, they chance to cast their Eyes on a poor Wretch, they command he should be taken out of their sight, instead of taking pity on him.

Were Church-mens Possessions proportion'd to their Character, they would live more frugally, and give less Scandal. Great Riches often ruin Men ; and, if what the Gospel says be true, that whatever a Clergy-man's Revenue be, yet he ought to take no more of it to his own use, than necessity requires ; how dangerous then must it be to have a Hundred or Fourscore Thousand Livres Yearly Rent, which we see many Church men do enjoy. Did they bear any part of the Burthen of the State, *your Majesty* would be oblig'd, God's Portion set apart, to reward their

good services ; but as they are in that respect unprofitable Members of the Kingdom, so being priviledg'd by their Character, they load others with paying Tythes, and other Duties : While with great care they free themselves from the Burthen which in justice they ought to bear.

Your Majesty in so large a Kingdom as yours, hath need of a great number of good Servants, and you would have wherewith all to reward 'em, if you divided among many, what you sometimes give but to one, and yet not content him. You should above all things consider, that the Service of God, and the Salvation of an infinite number of Souls, are brought into danger. Riches are a Rock upon which many a Man hath been wreck'd, and rich Churchmen for the most part, make an ill use of their wealth, and become a Scandal to their Diocess ; whereas if a Bishop had but a competent Revenue, he would employ it in things profitable, and tending to Edification.

To put things into this State, there is no necessity to take away the Revenue belonging to Bishopricks and Abbies ; but to oblige those that are worth more than Ten thousand Livres Rent, to maintain a Vicar or School-master in Parishes which have none, but where one is very necessary. For when People are poor, and not able to bear a new Charge, without being overburthen'd, their Children will want instruction ; and Ten thousand Livres a year, are more than a sufficient maintenance for a Bishop or an Abbot ; the Service of God doth not require their having such rich and sumptuous Equipages, nor
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such Magnificent and Dainty Tables. In the time of the Primitive Church, Luxury did not reign so much among 'em, and then there were more Saints than Bishops or Court-Abbots.

Another good effect that would be wrought by lessning the Revenue of the Clergy, is, that Persons of Quality, who enter into Orders upon no other score, but to have part of the Wealth that belongs to the Church; would not take upon them the Priesthood, unless they were truly call'd to it. So that for the future, there would be none in the Church, but Men of great Zeal and Piety, whose Example only would be sufficient to invite others to the same life; for nothing more prevails on Men, than to see what good Lives those lead, who are their Superiours.

CHAP. XII.

* *Of the Nobility, or Gentry.*

* *La Noblesse* properly signifies the Ancient Gentry, who all call themselves Noble in France.

THE Gentry were heretofore very considerable in *France*, and *Your Majesty's* Enemies so dreaded their Valour, that when they were known to be in your Armies, the Enemy was still unwilling to come to a Battle; but of late the Gentry have lost much of their Lustre, and are fallen into so great Poverty, that 'tis hard to know who are truly Noble. There are some Politicians who pretend this to be for *Your Majesty's* advantage, because if the Nobility were

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were as flourishing as in times past, *Your Majesty's* Power would not be so firm and stable, as now it is. But such Maxims look more like the Politicks of *Machiavil*, than those of a great King. A Kingdom built on the love of the People, is of much longer duration, than that which is founded on Tyranny. The times are not always the same in a state, and when they come to change, 'tis to be fear'd, that they who have been ill u'd, will shew their discontent, by some signal disobedience.

I have observ'd divers Subjects of Complaints among the Gentry; the first is, That they are drain'd and consum'd by the War, and their Services very ill rewarded. The second is, That the *Intendants* uphold their Vassals against them, by protecting them often very unjustly. The third is, That under specious pretences, they are made a prey to the Covetousness of the *Partisans*, who design their ruin. The fourth is, That the rank which they have always held in the Monarchy, is now very little regarded, and that *Your Majesty* respects them no more, than if they were born of the lees of the People.

As to their first complaint, I think it not well-grounded; for *Your Majesty* as powerful as you are, is not able to reward all the World. Gentlemen ought to consider the Creation you have made of the Companies of Cadets, and the Establishment of the House of * *St.*

* A Monastery for Women of Quality out of which they may Marry, or go again into the World.

Cir; which is in some sort a reward for their Services; since it frees them from the Charge of their Children, who are maintain'd at *your Majesty's* Expence, and put into

into a condition to be several ways preferr'd, by an Education suitable to their Birth.

If they pretend these Rewards are not distributed according to Merit, and that *Monsieur Louvoy* disposes of them upon all occasions, as he thinks fit; this is what *your Majesty* cannot help, because 'tis impossible that you can take notice of all things, or know the merit of every Officer, in the several Armies you have so far distant from you. *Your Majesty* must in this particular trust him who hath the Charge of the War, and if he impose upon you, 'tis he only can be blam'd.

The second complaint indeed seems more just and reasonable; for as a Gentleman is not suffer'd to oppress his Vassal, so the Vassal ought not to fail of paying all due respect to his Lord. But because the one more rarely happens than the other, the Lord is most commonly suspected to be the wrong doer; and he who hath the power in his hands, is more like to be guilty of vexation, than he that hath none. So that the Gentleman is generally the person condemn'd; which cannot be always justified, since there is nothing so insolent as a Peasant that knows he hath some body to back and protect him. 'Tis difficult in such Cases to determine on which side the right lyes, for if a Gentleman should be believ'd on his word, we should often run the hazard of being deceiv'd; and if credit should be given to a Peasant, we cannot be assur'd he speaks truth. All that I know to be done in such a Case is, that every *Intendant* should make it his endeavour to search out the truth if possible, before he order
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any Information or Process ; for such an order gives great distaste to an innocent person, especially when he is prosecuted by one that is his inferiour, and owes him respect. But that this expedient may not delay the speedy doing of Justice, let the false accuser be exemplarily punish'd, and on the other hand, let not the person accused be so far indulg'd, as to be permitted to oppress any body, that hath just Cause of complaint.

For the third, I confess there is very good Ground, and against which nothing can be alledged. I have heretofore told *Your Majesty*, that the manner of inquiring who are noble, and who not, is very vexatious and chargeable to Gentlemen. To prevent the like trouble for the future, 'twould be a better expedient how to know them, to make one general exact search ; but not by the *Partisans* : And when such a search is made, let there be a Catalogue or List Registred of all that are Noble in every Province, and let them and their Descendants, be for ever after free from all other searches. To hinder Plebeians from pretending to be of a good Family that may be extinct, let every one be oblig'd to give in a Note of all that are Baptized or Buried in his Family : If this course be taken, no body will be able to make himself a Gentleman that is none ; and for those that shall for the future be made Noble, let them be oblig'd to have their Patents Registred.

If *Your Majesty* think fit to make such an order, and oblige every one to the strict observation of it, you will not only get the love of
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your Nobility, but do an act of Justice. For to say truth, a Gentleman who hath been at a great deal of trouble and charge to get out of the hands of the *Parisians*, must think it very strange, to see himself in a little time plagu'd again, in the same manner, and under the same pretence he was before. Others likewise give Gentlemen a great deal of trouble concerning the Tenure of their Lands, and tho' they know that upon former Inquisitions, they have made out their Titles, yet require them to do it again. There ought to be some standing rule establish'd, once for all, to settle the repose of the most considerable Order of Men in your Kingdom. *Your Majesty* is more concern'd to do it than you imagine; they are the chief support of your Crown, and did they not give good example to others, by their zeal in your Service, all would quickly be turn'd Topsie-turvy. Though *your Majesty* hath done a great deal for the Gentry, as I have already shew'd, yet you are oblig'd to do more; which might be easily done, if you would oblige the Nunneries to receive young Women that desire to enter into Religion, without a Portion.

It would ease their Parents of a burden, and be an advantage to *Your Majesty*; for that Money which is now given with Daughters, might be bestow'd on the Sons; and consequently enable them to serve in your Armies, which would be a great help to the Gentry, and silence many of their Complaints. It must be confess'd, they are not much the better for the Establishment of *St. Cir*. That is but as a drop of water to one that

that is thirsty, and the House is not able to entertain the hundredth part of the Women, that would seek a retreat there. How many Maids for want of such a refuge, lead sad languishing lives, and yet are happier and wiser, than others, who are oblig'd by Poverty to marry very mean Men, and work for their Living.

However such a retreat as this, is much better than what is given to most of the Maids of *St. Cir*. Where tho the House be under the care of very great Persons, yet one who hath a heart as great as her Birth, is often forc'd, against her Will, to Marry * a Tax or Toll gatherer. Those who have other Sentiments, are not truly noble, but only so in shew and appearance. To prove what I say, I need only tell, what lately happen'd in the House of a great Lady, where a Young Woman very well born, by the baseness of her Parents, who Sacrific'd her to their Private Advantage, was forc'd to marry one of their Domesticks, she died with Grief: And the Man that married her, now courts another, who, may she have her Will, will never have him; but because some in very great Power are for him, he will certainly marry her in spite of all she and her Guardian can do to the contrary.

Your Majesty is much dishonour'd by interposing your Authority in such cases; for these things are commonly done by Letters under the Privy Signet, by Vertue of which, Daughters are taken from their Parents, and forc'd to enter into Religion; where they are necessitated to

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* A Word of Ignominy and Reproach in France.

be disobedient, being oblig'd to do that, which by the Laws of God and Man, they are forbidden to do. How many Women that are Heiresses to good Estates, are sacrific'd in this manner, and they that do it, never consider how *your Majesty* loses the hearts of the Gentry, whom it concerns. The Countess of *Tallard*, and the Marchioness of *Tbiange*, were married against the Will of their Parents, and tho' to Persons of Quality, yet what Satisfaction is that to a Father or Mother, who perhaps had taken other Measures, and thought themselves secure under *your Majesty's* Reign from any such Violence?

The Gentry stand in need of another Help, which they can expect from none but *your Majesty*: They are up to the Ears in Debt, out of which, if you do not take some course to deliver them, they will be all undone; it is not very difficult, and 'twill be an act of Justice in *your Majesty*; for you will restore that repose to them, which they have lost on your Account; it being a certain Truth, that they have been ruin'd in your Service. Moreover, you will infinitely oblige their Creditors, by saving them the trouble and Charge of a multitude of Suits, which the Malice of Judges, and the Knavery of Lawyers will make endless. *Your Majesty* needs do no more, than order all Debtors to sell to their Creditors, such a Portion of Land, as is worth the Money they owe them; which Land shall be valued at a reasonable Price, not at the rate it goes now, but as it went Twenty five Years ago: For Gentlemen would be quite undone, should their Estates be valued at no higher Rate,

Rate, than the present Rents; the misery of the Times, which cannot always continue, having made Land less worth by a third Part, than formerly it was. 'Tis manifest, that when better Order is taken, Lands will return again to their former Value.

But that Creditors may not complain, *your Majesty* will do well, to reduce all Land to five and twenty Years purchase; and all Money to Four *per Cent.* Interest, and then let the Creditors take their Choice, whether they will have their Principal and Interest at that Rate, or take the Land that is offered them. *Julius Caesar* did almost the same thing; for when he saw the *Romans* so much in debt, that they were not able to clear themselves, he order'd they should pay their Creditors in the manner I have propos'd, and that their Creditors should be satisfied with it.

If *your Majesty* would do this, you would find a great Advantage by it: For Gentlemen would not only be in a better condition to serve you; but when *your Majesty* wanted Money, you might, if you pleas'd, have all in the Kingdom, at Five *per Cent.* Interest; for every one would rather lend his Money to *your Majesty*, than to any body else.

Were so good an Order once establish'd, it would be observ'd for the Future: Were that done which was intended Twelve Years ago, but not put in execution, because there were such contests about it in Parliament; there should be Registers appointed to record all Obligations and Contracts; then no body could be deceiv'd

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or cheated; for by looking over the Register, every Man's Debts might be known, and a Man might presently see whether he that desir'd to borrow Money could give good Security for it. The Parliament had no mind this should be done, because it would have cut off the *Hydra's* Head of all Process and Law Suits; by which they grew Rich. Their Pretence against such a Register was, that all the Grandees of the Court, as well as others, would be ruin'd by it: for owing more than they had wherewith to pay, they would not be able to borrow Sixpence, when their Debts came to be discover'd. So that prevailing (by this Pretence) with many considerable Persons to be of their Mind, they so caball'd together, that *your Majesty* revok'd the Edict you had made concerning it.

But this was too weak a Reason, to hinder the doing of so much good. It is absolutely necessary to oblige People to deal faithfully and honestly one with another, and they that lend Money, ought to have good Security for it. Private Men's Credit must likewise be kept up, otherwise, when they have occasion for Money, tho' they have an Estate, they will not be able to borrow, because they are thought to owe more than really they do: and it must appear plainly to Lenders, that they have good Security. When such a Register is establish'd, it will not be in Peoples Power to cheat one another, as they now daily do.

There is another Benefit which your People will have by it; against which there can be no Objection, which is, when Men want Money,

they now apply themselves to Usurers, by whom they are soon and certainly undone: But when Registers are settl'd, they will have no occasion to deal with them; for whoever hath an Estate in Goods or Land, may have what Money he wants at reasonable Interest, and then they that have nothing, will not be able to deceive any body.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Lawyers, or those concern'd in the administration of Justice.

IT may be thought strange, I should maintain, that they who are employ'd in the administration of Justice, are a Sort of People that ought to be destroy'd: As if I thereby design'd to introduce Libertinism and Violence, two Things intolerable in a Kingdom. But tho' I maintain that the rooting out of these People, is the way to reform all Abuses, and make the Kingdom flourish; yet let it not be thought, I any more intend Justice should be banish'd, than the Fear of God and the King. There are ways of doing Justice, without making it so chargeable to the People, and it may be done with ease, by putting what I am about to say, in practice.

That which makes those who administer Justice, so burthensome to the People; is the Sale of their Offices and Places, introduc'd by the Kings *your Majesty's* Predecessors, and by Taxes from time to time laid upon them, which they must have out of those that unhappily fall into
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their Clutches ; but fearing it would make too great a Noise, should they flea them all at once, they prolong suits, and fleece them by Degrees, that their Robberies may not be perceiv'd. They will have the last drop of their Clients Blood, a Misery to which all they that go to Law are expos'd ; a Man must leave his Business at home, to run about soliciting, and sometimes lye in Town many Years, to lose his Quiet and waste his Estate, and in truth, to lead as wretched a Life as the Galley Slaves. Would there be any need of this, if Justice were honestly and duly administred ? Of what nature soever any Cause be, is there a necessity of disguising it with so many Forms of Proceedings ? If Truth be uniform and naked, why is it represented in so many Colours ? To remedy this, let all the present Forms of Prosecuting Law Suits be abolish'd ; and for the future, let Causes be determin'd as they are in *Turky*, or by Consuls upon the Place, without having any thing to do with green Bags, and Bundles of old Papers. But it being impossible to make Men leave a Knavish Trade, by which they get their Living, there is no way to reform so great an Abuse, but to cut it up by the Roots.

This may be easily done, if your *Majesty* will but suppress the * *Paulette*, which

* Is the Sixtieth part of the Price of any Office in the Law or the Finances, which is annually paid to the King by

all Officers, that they may have leave to sell or to dispose of their Places during that Year, and when an Officer dies without paying *la Paulette* his Heirs lose the Benefit of his place. It takes its Name from *Charles Paulet*, who invented it about the Year 1600 and was authoriz'd by an Arrest of the Privy Council the 12th of Dec. 1604.

tho' it brings a great Revenue to *your Majesty*, by annual Payments and Loanes, yet not comparable to the Benefit which the taking of it quite away will be, not only to the Publick, but to *your Majesty* in particular. I have already said, that they who are concern'd in the administration of Justice, cost your People Two Hundred Millions Yearly; which will be easily made out, if we consider what a vast number of Blood-Suckers are to be maintain'd, and what great Charges People are put to in going to Law. A poor Country-man that is Plaintiff or Defendant, doth not only lose his Money, but what is dearer to him his Time. How can he get his Living, when he is forc'd to run solliciting from House to House, the Doors being often shut against him, if he has not a Silver Key to open 'em.

The Benefit all People would find, by having Justice administer'd in another manner than now it is; is so visible, that I need not say much to prove it. 'Tis evident that *your Majesty* and the whole Kingdom, will reap very great advantage by it. Your People would be much eas'd, their Purses less drain'd, and they would be better able to supply *your Majesty's* Wants; and when this Generation of Leeches has nothing to do, they will be forc'd to follow some other Trade, more beneficial to Monarchy. Some would turn Souldiers, especially those that are Rich, and would vie with People of Quality: others would become Merchants or Bankers, which would be of equal Advantage to *your Majesty*: For the more Souldiers you have, the more Formidable you will be to your Enemies; and

and the more Merchants you have, the more will your Kingdom flourish. These two Professions and Tillage, are enough to compleat its prosperity, but I will add one thing more, which shall be mention'd hereafter; and when I have given my Reasons for it, let Peoples Prejudice against it be never so great, yet I hope they will be of my mind. But I must first finish this Chapter, which would be very imperfect, if I did not shew in what manner I would have Justice administer'd, when the present practice in the Administration of it, and all Offices and Places belonging to it, are quite laid aside and suppress'd.

In the Jurisdiction of every Bayliwick, I would have *your Majesty* make choice of Three understanding Persons; and make them Judges of all Differences that should arise there; these Three should be chosen out of the Clergy, the Gentry, and the Third State. Every one should plead his own Cause, and he that was not able to do it himself, should get a Friend to plead for him. All Papers and Writings relating to the Cause, should be brought in, and laid on the Table. No Process should be issued, nor any Money paid for hearing the Cause. The Party condemn'd should not only pay Costs, but likewise a Fine. There may lie an Appeal to *your Majesty*, and for that, there should be a certain number of Judges establish'd in *Paris*, whereof, some should take Cognizance of the Appeals of one Province, and some of another, but no longer than for one Year only, and at the end of that time they should change their Offices one with another. Their Salaries like those given

to the Judges of Provinces, should be paid by the People, for which there should be a Tax laid upon them; like that which is levied for *your Majesty*.

If this were done, there would be an end of all Proceſs, and your People will eternally bleſs *your Majesty*, for having reſtor'd to them Peace and Plenty, by ſo excellent a Regulation.

C H A P. XIV.

*Of the Men of Buſineſs, ſuch Bankers or others
who farm the King's Revenue.*

IN ſo great a Kingdom as *your Majesty's*, where its Bounds have been ſo much enlarg'd by your Conqueſts, there ought to be a conſtant Fund of ready Money, that in Caſe your Enemies ſhould have a mind to be reveng'd for their Loſſes; *your Majesty* may be in a condition to oppoſe and repulſe 'em. It is impoſſible you can do it at your own Charge, tho' *your Revenue* be great, for if you ſhould make it your Buſineſs to gather and hoard up Money, your People would preſently be ſenſible of it: The Money which is neceſſary to maintain Trade in a Nation, muſt be in a continual circulation, to make a Kingdom flouriſh.

When War was declar'd by a Herald; a Prince had ſome time to prepare for it, by filling his Coſſers beforehand. But ſince nothing is ſo much practis'd by Princes, as ſurpriſing
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one another, there is a necessity of having ready Money, which must be supply'd by Bankers, whose Credit keeps all Trade in continual Motion. It is therefore *your Majesty's* Interest, not only to make use of, but likewise to protect them. They must not however be suffer'd to suck your Peoples Blood, but should be severely punish'd, when they are found guilty of Extortion: 'Tis just they should get something, but they must not be permitted to rob your Subjects, and go unpunish'd.

To encourage them by an Honest Gain, I think it sufficient to allow them a sixth Part for Management, and 10. *per Cent.* upon extraordinary Occasions; for those Branches of your Revenue which are farm'd out, I think there can be no better establishment than the present; I would not have 'em let at a Rent certain, as in Loans, and no account to be given of the Overplus.

That would be to revive the Ministry of Monsieur *Fouquet*, and open a Door to all the Abuses that were committed in his time. A Farmer that looks forward, and considers what may happen hereafter, must not by bold Frauds make too much haste to be Rich, and hazard the undoing of himself, and his Children after him. There may a time come, when he shall be call'd to a strict Account, and be forc'd to disgorge all he hath swallow'd, and rot in a Goal: He were much better for his own Peace, be contented with reasonable Gain.

In farming out *your Majesty's* Revenue, it is necessary that the Person on whom you rely to do it, should never depend on the Fidelity of the

Commissioners : For, let him be never so cautious, they will, if possible, deceive him in their Accounts; they will dextrously charge too much or too little as they see their Advantage; and sometimes between the Intendant of the Finances, who hath Power to let them; and the Farmers that rent them; there may be so Good an understanding, as to divide the Cake, and defraud *your Majesty*. To prevent this, there should always be join'd with the Farmers, an honest Man who may be confided in; he will be a continual Spie upon the rest, and be so distrusted by them, that they will be afraid, tho' they have never so much mind, to do *your Majesty* Wrong.

It being impossible for a Comptroller General, to know of himself, all the ways and means which may be us'd to raise Money; he ought to deal faithfully with those, that give him information how it may be done. I always, without respect of Persons, gave Rewards to those that brought me any good Memorials, or Proposals to that purpose. 'Tis the way to sharpen Mens Wits, and to discontent such Men, may be very prejudicial to *your Majesty's* Affairs. Their Papers must be examin'd, to see what is good, and what is bad in their Proposals. I would fain know what a Minister of State could do, if he were not sometimes assisted by other Mens advice, he will find it so much trouble to look over and rectifie those Memorials that are brought him, that he will hardly have time to sleep quietly.

There are sometimes hard Bargains, where a Company loses considerably, notwithstanding the

the Allowance that is made 'em : As when Commodities are assign'd to 'em for Payment, which they cannot sell or put off. The Case is then the same, as if nothing had been given them. A Minister of State, ought on such Occasions to do them Justice, and not let 'em suffer : For if *your Majesty* will have Money, you must protect, and not Persecute those that are to furnish you with it ; for if they are to advance it, 'tis requisite People should believe they are Men of Substance, and in a good Condition ; when once they think the contrary, they will be wary how they part with their Money, to those that are upon the brink of Ruin.

I remember a Conjunction of this nature, since I have been in the Post to which *your Majesty* was pleased to prefer me ; but I presently apply'd a Remedy : It was in the Year 1670. when People kept their Purses fast tied, and there was little or no Money stirring. The Bankers came daily, and told me, their Credit was quite lost, that People thought them engag'd in ill Bargains, and would trust 'em no longer. I then did two things which succeeded very well ; first I appointed Persons to enquire what Losses they had sustain'd, with a Promise that when I knew what really they were, I would make 'em Satisfaction : Next I sent for the Principle Agents of the Bank, and after having had *your Majesty's* Consent, I distributed Three Millions among 'em, which they presently employ'd in Trade. They that knew not whence the Money came, concluded presently, that these Men would never run the Risque of so great a Summ,
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but upon very good grounds, they immediately follow'd their Example, and People universally began again to open their Purfes.

In a time of scarcity, especially of Wine, the like inconvenience may happen, because they that farm the Duties upon it, would be undone, if there were not some allowance made them, proportionable to their loss. Now not knowing how it will go with them, till *your Majesty's* pleasure be declar'd how much they shall be abated; every one keeps his Money in his hands, and all the Banks are shut up at once, they likewise who are Sub-farmers will pay nothing, because they also expect an abatement; pretending they are not able to pay, when sometimes they have a great deal of Money in their hands, which they will not part with, tho' you should Quarter Souldiers upon them, or send them to Prison. To avoid this, which in time will be extremely prejudicial to *your Majesty's* Affairs; your Minister must appoint Commissioners to make him a true report of the state of Affairs, but they must never be chosen out of the general Farmers; because that would be to put *Your Majesty's* Concerns, into the hands of suspected Persons, not to be trusted. Who under borrow'd names, are often partners with the Sub-farmers; and will be sure to aggravate their losses, pretending them to be much greater than in truth they are. And when they are not concern'd, will not trouble themselves, let what will happen.

Your Majesty must forbear as much as possibly you can, and the state of your Affairs will permit,

mit, the imposing of any new Taxes ; but there is one that hath not yet been laid, which I think very just and necessary, and will be so far from doing hurt, that it will certainly do a great deal of good. All *France* is of late years, so over run with Luxury, and Vanity reigns every where to that degree ; that 'tis impossible to know a Peasant from a Gentleman, a Citizen from a Magistrate, or the Rabble from Citizens. Their Families in the mean time suffer, and 'tis an abuse which *Your Majesty* is oblig'd to suppress, not only that Mens several conditions may be distinguish'd, but also to keep them from being miserable. A bare Law in this Case, will be but an uncertain remedy ; because we daily see Laws last but a little time, and are frequently broken as soon as made. *Your Majesty* must therefore lay a Tax upon all those that wear Clothes beyond their Quality, and you must by an Edict declare, who may wear Gold and Silver, who Silk, and so downwards ; and that they who ought not to wear Gold or Silver, and yet presume to do it, shall pay so much ; and they that wear Silk, or any other forbidden Stuff, so much. This imposition will make all People live within compass, according to their condition, or will be a very considerable Income to *Your Majesty* ; for if you oblige those to pay a Crown or two, that contrary to the Law wear Gold or Silver, and those to pay a little less that wear Silk, Lace, or whatever else shall be prohibited ; how many that by the Law ought not to wear such or such things, will rather pay their

their Money, than (as is usually said) not go like other folks ; and yet no body can complain against such a Tax, because it will be voluntary, no person being bound to pay it, but he that will.

C H A P. XV.

Of Tradesmen and Commerce.

TH E R E is nothing so necessary to make a Kingdom flourish as Trade ; and for a Demonstrative proof of it, we need but observe the difference between a Town situated upon a good River, and an Inland Town. The one is rich and plentiful, the other poor and miserable. But Towns near the Sea-side, have yet an advantage, which others have not, because they abound more in all things, than those upon Rivers, or in any other places ; so that whoever hath a mind to follow any employment, may if he please live very comfortably. Now if so many advantages attend Trade, which no body can deny, it should be an incitement to *Your Majesty*, to promote and protect it. Many have formerly, and still blame me, for perswading *Your Majesty* to encourage and countenance Manufactures, exclaiming against me, that nothing we can do, will be comparable to that we have from foreign parts. But they are much mistaken, for tho' I confess we did not in our first attempts,

attempts, bring things to that perfection we desir'd ; yet it must be granted, that in what we have done since, we have excell'd all others. I will instance only in the Glasses made at *Paris*. We never had from *Venice* any so great, as are now made in the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*. The *Venetian* Embassador himself was surpriz'd, and till he saw it with his own eyes, would never believe any could be made so large ; and tho' he wrote to *Venice* what Glasses he had seen here, yet they were so incredulous, that they thought it impossible. 'Tis true our Glas doth not look so clear and lively, as that which comes from thence ; but it may be easily refin'd. And the difference between theirs and ours, is not so great, that we should send thither three Millions every year, to buy Looking Glasses and Coach-Glasses.

What can be objected against our Tapistry made at *Beauvais* ; and at the *Gobelins* ? I would fain know whether *Your Majesty* be willing, I know not how much Money should go into *Flanders*, to bring Hangings from thence ? If *Your Majesty* had not so long suffer'd it, you might e're this have been Master of those rich Provinces. For 'tis certain that they have maintain'd their War with *French* Money ; for by that very Manufacture in three several places, they have drawn out of *France* many Millions, and if *Your Majesty* would forbid the bringing likewise of Hair, and Lace from thence, they would soon fall into great Poverty. *Your Majesty* should therefore lay so great an Imposition upon these
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Commodities, that no body would care to import them. What need have we of Tapistry, of Hair, or *Flanders* Lace? Your Kingdom is great enough and full enough of Ingenious Men, to furnish all these things. The Importation of them must be discountenanced, by *Your Majesty's* being the first that leaves using of them; for people will certainly follow your example, since in imitating you, they never consider, whether they do well or ill.

The Case is the same as to our Cloth, and other Manufactures. We must do all we can, to stop the current of our Monies going out of the Kingdom. If any complain that our first attempts do not succeed, yet we must not give over; no Prentice does immediately become a Master, but by constant forging becomes a Smith. All beginnings are difficult, and nothing but time makes things perfect; Water in the Spring is not so clear as it is in the Stream, and 'tis patience that brings Men to the End they aim at.

I know that they who are not of my Opinion, make this Objection against it. If we resolve not to have any Commerce with Foreigners, they will not Trade with us; so that 'tis best to let things stand on the same foot they now are, and have always stood; but they that talk at this rate, ought to know, that our Neighbours have need of us, but we no need of them. *France* hath generally all things necessary within it self, very few excepted; but it is not so with other Countries that confine
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upon us; they have neither Wine, Salt, Corn, Hemp, or Brandy; and therefore must have it of us; and we should make but an ill use of that which God hath given us, if we let others have it, for that whereof we have no need. If Strangers must have our Money, let it be only for that which cannot be had in our own Kingdom; as Spices which are to be fetched from the *Indies*, or bought of the *Hollanders*; for any thing else, we may be without it, and let not Luxury tempt us to do any thing prejudicial to our Native Country.

They are so rigorous in many great Cities of your Kingdom, that they will not receive Tradesmen among them; which is an abuse *Your Majesty* ought not to suffer; for it keeps many from applying themselves to Trade, who perhaps would thrive better, than those that are in it. What necessity is there of serving an Apprenticeship to a Master? It may perhaps be necessary for Handicrafts-men and Artificers, because no body should venture upon a Trade which they do not understand; but for others, why must they lose their time, or why must they be hinder'd from following a Trade they have learn'd in Foreign Countries, or because they cannot shew a Certificate that they serv'd an Apprenticeship? Is it just or reasonable, that *Your Majesty's* Name should be made use of to keep industrious persons from getting their Living? you are the Common Father of your People, and ought to take them all into your protection.

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If you would publish an Edict to abrogate all By-laws in Corporations, against People's setting up Trades there without their leave, it would do no harm. *Your Majesty* would find your account, in obliging People to take Letters of Licence from you ; for which they should pay a small Summ. The number of those that would come for Licenses would be so great, that tho' they had 'em for little, yet *Your Majesty* would find it very considerable. Beside, they would think themselves oblig'd to you, because what they gave you, would be less than it costs them in Corporations, to get leave to keep a Shop.

Particular care should be taken by *Your Majesty* to regulate the Trade of *Stationers*. It is in Country-Towns so subject to the Inquisition of the *Paris* Booksellers, who by vertue of Priviledges obtain'd from the *Chancery*, keep all other Booksellers throughout the Kingdom in such dependence ; that they must either starve, or run the hazard of being undone. If *Your Majesty* will take compassion of 'em, you must confine the Priviledges of the *Paris* Book-sellers to the City of *Paris*, and permit all others to sell without Controll. *Paris* alone is more worth than all the rest of the Kingdom, but 'tis not reasonable, that more than two thousand Families, should perish for the sake of a few.

The Council is full of instances of the like kind, and your People have reason to expect, you should favour the oppressed. The Books
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that are brought from *Paris* are so very dear, that poor People are not able to come up to their Price. A poor Parson whose living is worth but a hundred Crowns a year, hath as much need of Instruction, as he who hath two thousand; and if it be expected that he should Preach and do his Duty, he must not be trod under foot.

The only thing that can be objected against so good and just a Regulation, is, that *Your Majesty* may have reason to lessen the number of Booksellers; for Libels are now so frequent and common, that Bookselling may be thought a Trade more pernicious than profitable to the Government. When there are fewer Booksellers, the Authors of these Libells may be discover'd. It may also be necessary to bring all that sell Books to so low a condition, as to force them to follow some other Employments; for indeed there is no need of so great a number, Learning and Letters will flourish without it. But whatever *Your Majesty's* intention be, you may do as is done in *Spain*, where Books are Sold at a Price certain, and he that Prints them, is not permitted to put such a rate upon them, as they that have need of them, think unreasonable.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Husbandmen and Tillage.

Tillage and Husbandry, being the great Wealth of the Kingdom, *your Majesty* is not only concern'd, to contribute all you can, to the maintaining of it in its present condition; but if possible, to put it into a better. In many Places of the Kingdom, a great deal of Land lyes Untill'd, because the People are very poor, and have not Beasts or Cattle to Manure it, nor any other means to improve it. To relieve and help your People in a business so necessary, *Your Majesty* would do well to lessen the Taxes, a Burden under which they are ready to sink; and lend them Money to buy Cows and Sheep. Five or six Millions dispers'd among the Provinces, would make them all flourish, and *Your Majesty* would be the first that would reap the benefit of it; for as soon as your People are in a better condition, they will be the better able to aid and assist you.

One of the greatest causes of the Sterility of the Earth, is the Poverty of those that should cultivate it; for we see one and the same Soil, produce more or less, as it is well, or ill Plow'd

Plow'd and Dress'd. Therefore it will not be enough for *Your Majesty* to give Husbandmen Money to buy Cattle if they still want Horses: I call such poor Jades, as are hardly able to draw a Plow, want of Horses. For when the Earth is but scratch'd up, and not Plow'd deep enough, what Crop can it produce? *your Majesty* must therefore give 'em Money to buy better, and stronger Horses; and the rather, because you your self will find the benefit of it. Let them have Mares of a good size, and they will bring Colts that will serve to mount your Cavalry; and then there will be no more need of going into *Switzerland*, or *Germany*, to buy Horses of Stature for that purpose.

They likewise that keep Stallions, must take more care of them, than they have done hitherto. 'Tis therefore my opinion, that they should be put into the hands of Gentlemen, who know best how to order them: and 'tis more their business than theirs who now keep them. But the Summ which *Your Majesty* hath hitherto been pleas'd to lay out for this purpose, is not sufficient for it. Fourscore and four Stallions in the whole Kingdom, are but enough for two or three Provinces, and there are others which are very proper, to keep Races to breed by.

F I N I S.